THE HEBREW PROPHETS

EDITED BY

F. H. WOODS & F. E. POWELL

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THE HEBREW PROPHETS FOR ENGLISH READERS

IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE REVISED VERSION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE, PRINTED IN THEIR POETICAL FORM, WITH HEADINGS AND BRIEF ANNOTATION

EDITED BY

FRANCIS H. WOODS, B.D.

SOMETIME FELLOW AND THEOLOGICAL LECTURER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD
RECTOR OF BAINTON, EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK
AUTHOR OF 'FOR FAITH AND SCIENCE,' 'THE HOPE OF ISRAEL,' ETC.

AND

FRANCIS E. POWELL, M.A.

EMERGENCY CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF HEREFORD, AUTHOR OF 'THE UNIFIED GOSPEL'; 'THE SURVIVAL OF FAITH'; 'THE METAPHYSIC OF PSYCHOLOGY,' ETC.

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME IV

HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, MALACHI, JOEL, DEUTERO-ZECHARIAH, JONAH, AND DANIEL

οὐ γὰρ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου ἠνέχθη προφητεία ποτέ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι.

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PREFACE

WITH the issue of this, the fourth, volume, our edition of the Hebrew Prophets, begun some five years ago, is now completed, and we desire once more to acknowledge the kind reception the work has met with, particularly from reviewers in the press. Our aim, as set forth in the preface to the first volume, has been to provide the ordinary English reader, who has neither time nor perhaps inclination to study heavier commentaries, and who finds this part of the Bible by itself somewhat difficult to understand, with a more intelligible and attractive presentation of this important part of the Sacred Writings. In fact it may be truly said that it is only within a comparatively recent period that such a presentation has been possible. In early days these writings were regarded too much as quarries of proof-texts to establish doctrines and to support 'theories of prophecy', and what could not be thus utilised was apt to be largely ignored. Nor had research, whether critical or archaeological, provided the means for their being so completely understood. But since the work of scholars like Ewald, Wellhausen, and Cornill in Germany, and Robertson Smith, Driver, and G. A. Smith, with many others in our own country, these books have been re-opened and made to live again.[1] All that we have sought to do is,

[1] 'We are beginning to feel the warmth and the life and the reality come back to those pale and shadowy figures. Isaiah and Hosea and Jeremiah no longer walk in a *limbus Patrum*, but we see them as they were among the forces by which they were actually surrounded. We see what they were as men; we see what they were as exponents of a message from God; we see the grand and glorious ideas which stirred within them in all their richness and fullness, conditioned, yet not wholly conditioned,

after acquainting ourselves, so far as possible, with the best that scholarship and criticism could offer[1], to present the very excellent translation[2] which the Revisers have given to the English-speaking world in a more literary form[3], with such headlines and annotations as should enable the average reader to understand this ancient literature as readily and as easily as he understands, say, Wordsworth or Tennyson.

In some churches the lessons from the Prophetic Books are read directly from these volumes to the advantage, it is believed, of both reader and hearers. For by printing the English text in lines and stanzas of varying lengths, the sense is more easily obtained and the abrupt transitions, which form so characteristic a feature, are largely overcome. While those in our congregations who follow the lessons[4] in this edition are enabled, by means of the headings of the paragraphs into which the several books are divided, to increase, it is hoped, their appreciation of the usefulness and beauty of the passages read.

We confess to a sense of disappointment that the use of the Hebrew Prophets in our schools has not made

by the world of thought and action in which they moved.'—Sanday, *The Oracles of God*, p. 120.

[1] List of 'Authorities' will be found in the indexes of the several volumes of this work.

[2] This is generally acknowledged to have retained, better than the Revised New Testament, the simple dignity, power, and majestic beauty of the Authorised Version with those 'happy turns of expression, the music of its cadences and the felicities of its rhythm', which has made it for centuries, as the late Dean Alford said, 'the vehicle to this great English race of all that is pure, and holy, and lovely, and of good report—the first lesson of infancy, the guide of mature life, the comforter of sickness and death.'

[3] The principle and method adopted were explained fully in the preface to the third volume. The notes in the latter volumes are fuller and more numerous than those in the earlier ones. This is largely because of the greater difficulty of some of the Books.

[4] Each volume contains a Lectionary Table.

more progress. In renewing the appeal we made in our first volume [1] we would therefore draw attention to the supplementary essay we have written on the present-day value of a closer study of this literature [2].

And withal, lest, amidst the literary charm and social and moral value of these old-world writings, sight should be lost of their devotional aspect and force, a comprehensive Index [3] of Prophetic thought and teaching, together with a Reference Index of chapters and verses, has been added, which will enable the religious-minded and devoutly-disposed to study and meditate upon those highest themes which belong to the realm of the human spirit, in its aspirations and struggles, its sorrows and sins—those great problems of existence, the mysteries of life and death and of human experience and destiny. It is hoped that by means of this two-fold index the greatest facility and rapidity of reference to the noble and spiritual thoughts which possessed the Prophets' minds will be found with the minimum of labour and inconvenience.

We should like once again to renew the acknowledgement of our indebtedness to the scholars mentioned in our first preface [4], and in particular to the Rev. D. C. Simpson, for his kindness in making several very helpful

[1] See Vol. I, p. v, where the teaching of the Prophets in the schools of Germany is referred to.

[2] The origin and nature of Prophecy were dealt with in Vol. I, pp. ix–xxviii.

[3] In this and its companion Reference Index there are nearly 20,000 references under about 680 separate headings, in addition to the historical, geographical, and other more or less concrete references which are found in the indexes attached to the separate volumes of this work. These *special* indexes (which have about 15,000 references in all) are both of the subject-matter and of words, and so form a fairly complete Concordance, which, with the General and Reference Index and the references in the notes, should help any one to make his study of the Prophets both thorough and systematic.

[4] See also Prefaces to Vols. II and III, and Introd. to Daniel, p. 118.

suggestions. Nor should we omit to thank the publishers whose patient and skilful labours in preparing these volumes for the press have been very great. The arrangement or disposition of the poetic lines across the pages has not, we feel sure, been easily printed, and this, in addition to the amount of annotation which the compact but clear type has permitted, is, even in these days of cheap printing, cause for congratulation that the price of these volumes is so markedly low.

F. H. W.
F. E. P.

St. Martin's House, Hereford
Sept. 5, 1912

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xii. 11 .....Mat. xxiv. 15
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Luke xxi. 20.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE FOR THE FOURTH VOLUME[1]

B. C.	PROPHETS OF JUDAH	GENERAL HISTORY	BIBLE REFERENCES
538–333		PERIOD OF PERSIAN ASCENDANCY (continued from the Chron. Table in vol. iii)	
539	. . . .	Cyrus takes Babylon	Isa. xiii—xiv. 23; xxi. 10; Jer. xxv. 12–14; l—li; Isa. xliii. 14; xlvii; xlviii. 14; Dan. v; ix. 25 (see vol. iii, p. ix).
538	. . . .	A number of Jewish exiles (see p. 4, note 1) return to Palestine under Zerubbabel.	Ezra i, ii. See pp. 3, 4.
		Foundation-stone of the Temple formally laid (?) See p. 4, note 2.	Ezra iii. 8–13; iv. 1–5, 24; v. 16.
536	. . . .	Temple built by Jews at Elephantine (see note on Isa.	
	. . . .	xix. 18).	
529–522	. . . .	Cambyses, king of Persia	Dan. viii. 4; xi. 2.
525	. . . .	Cambyses makes Egypt a Persian province, destroys many temples, but spares the Jewish Temple at Elephantine.	See vol. iii, p. ix. Dan. viii. 4 and note on Jer. xliii. 12.
522	. . . .	Gaumâta (Pseudo-Smerdis) usurper for seven months .	Dan. xi. 2.
522–485	. . . .	Darius I (Hystaspes), king of Persia	Ezra vi. 15; Hag. i. 1; Dan. vii. 6; ix. 1; xi. 2.
520	. . . .	Building of Temple begun. (See note on Ezra iii. 8–13 in Introd. to Haggai, p. 4, note 2.)	Hag. i. 12–15; Ezra v. 1, 2; vi. 14; Zech. iv. 7–9.
520–516	HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH (i—viii).		

485–465		Xerxes (Ahasuerus), king of Persia	Ezra iv. 6; Esth. i; Dan. vii. 6; xi. 2.
480		Battles of Thermopylae and Salamis. Themistocles	Dan. viii. 6; xi. 2.
479		Battles of Plataea and Mycale	Dan. viii. 6.
465–424		Artaxerxes I (Longimanus), king of Persia	Ezra vii. 1; Neh. xiii. 6; Dan. vi. 6.
c. 460–450	MALACHI.		
458		Return of about 1,750 Jewish exiles with Ezra	Ezra vii. 7.
445		Nehemiah, made governor, visits Jerusalem	Neh. i. 1; ii. 1.
444		Book of the Law (greater part of Priestly Code) accepted by the Jews.	Neh. viii.
432		Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem	Neh. xiii. 6.
423–404		Darius II (Nothus), king of Persia	Neh. xii. 22.
408		Letter from the Jewish colony at Elephantine (Assuan) to Bagoas, Persian governor of Judah, begging his intervention and help to rebuild the Jewish Temple there.	
404–359		Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), king of Persia.	
359–338		Artaxerxes III (Ochus), king of Persia. (See p. 64.)	
c. 350	(?) JOEL.		
336–331		Darius III (Codomannus), last king of Persia	Dan. xi. 2.
333		Persian Empire subdued by Alexander the Great at battle of Issus.	Dan. vii. 7; viii. 5–7, 21; xi. 3.
333–167	PERIOD OF GRECIAN ASCENDANCY (under 1, Alexander; 2, the Ptolemies; 3, the Seleucidae).		
333–323		Alexander the Great	Dan. vii. 7, 19, 23; viii. 5–7, 21; xi. 3, 4.
c. 332	(?) Isaiah xxiv—xxvii.	Jews submit to Alexander. Seven months' siege of Tyre.	
331		Final overthrow of Persian power at the battle of Arbela	Dan. vii. 23; viii. 5; xi. 2.
323		Death of Alexander the Great at Babylon	Dan. viii. 8, 22.
323–*c.* 300	(?) Zechariah ix—xiv.	Wars of Alexander's generals and successors	Dan. ii. 41; vii. 7, 19–24; viii. 8, 22; xi. 4.
322–285		Ptolemy Lagi as satrap; 305, as king of Egypt	Dan. xi. 5.

[1] See Chronological Table in vol. ii, note 1.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE FOR THE FOURTH VOLUME (*continued*)

B. C.	PROPHETS OF JUDAH	GENERAL HISTORY	BIBLE REFERENCES
312–280	(?) Zechariah ix—xiv.	Seleucus I (Nicator) of Syria	Dan. xi. 5.
312		Seleucus I recovers Babylon. First year of Seleucid chronology. (See pp. 119, 175, 181.)	Dan. xi. 5.
305–285		Ptolemy I (Lagi) of Egypt	Dan. xi. 5.
302–198		Palestine a province of Egypt under the Ptolemies (see p. 122).	
300	? JONAH[1].	Antioch founded by Seleucus I	2 Kings xiv. 25. Cf. Jon. i. 1; Dan. xi. 5.
285–247		Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) of Egypt	Dan. xi. 6.
280–261		Antiochus I (Soter) of Syria	See note on Dan. xi. 6.
261–246		Antiochus II (Theos) of Syria	Dan. xi. 6.
c. 250		Probable close of the Prophetic canon. Greek translation of the Pentateuch made probably about this time.	
249		Antiochus II marries Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus.	Dan. ii. 43; xi. 6.
247–222		Ptolemy III (Euergetes I) of Egypt	Dan. xi. 7–9.
246–226		Seleucus II (Callinicus) of Syria	Dan. xi. 7–9.
226–223		Seleucus III (Ceraunos) of Syria	Dan. xi. 10.
223–187		Antiochus III (the Great) of Syria	Dan. xi. 13–19; see note on Dan. iii. 28.
222–205		Ptolemy IV (Philopator) of Egypt.	
217		Battle of Raphia	Dan. xi. 12.
205–181		Ptolemy V (Epiphanes) of Egypt	Dan. xi. 11–14.
199		Palestine falls to Antiochus III by his defeat of Ptolemy V at Banias (Panium). (See p. 122.)	Dan. xi. 15.
194		Ptolemy V marries Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III.	Dan. ii. 43; xi. 17.
		The Romans under Scipio Asiaticus defeat Antiochus the	Dan. xi. 18.

175–164		Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) of Syria. (See pp. 121–125.)	Dan. ix. 24–27; xi. 9–12, 23–26; xi. 21–45.
175		Antiochus IV expels the high-priest Onias III and sells the high-priesthood to his brother Jason.	Dan. ix. 26, 27; xi. 22.
172		Menelaus outbids Jason and becomes high-priest	Dan. ix. 27; xi. 23.
170		Antiochus' *first* expedition into Egypt. On his return he enters the Temple and carries its sacred vessels away.	Dan. xi. 25–30.
c. 170–160		Building of Temple by Onias IV at Heliopolis (Egypt)	See note on Isa. xix. 18.
168		Antiochus' *third* (or *second*) expedition into Egypt Apollonius surprises Jerusalem on a Sabbath. Persecution of the Jews. The Temple desecrated 25 Chisleu (Nov.-Dec.). Temple worship suspended for three years (168–166).	Dan. xi. 40–45. Dan. vii. 8, 21; viii. 9–14, 23–26; ix. 26, 27; xi. 30–39; xii. 5–7, 11. See note on Dan. viii. 14.
c. 167/165	PERIOD OF MACCABEAN OR ASMONEAN ASCENDANCY.		
167	DANIEL.	Rise of the Maccabees	Dan. xi. 33, 34; 1 Macc. i—iv. 27.
166–165		Victories of Judas Maccabaeus over Antiochus Epiphanes	1 Macc. iii, iv.
165		Rededication of Temple, 25 Chisleu (Nov.-Dec.)	Dan. viii. 14; ix. 24–27; 1 Macc. iv. 45–61.
164		Death of Antiochus IV. Demetrius I (Soter) succeeds (162–150).	Dan. ix. 26; xi. 40–45; 1 Macc. vii. 1–4.
160–142		Jonathan, younger brother of Judas Maccabaeus, leader of the Jews.	1 Macc. ix. 23—xii. 53.
142		Judah's independence acknowledged by Syria.	
142–135		Simon, the elder brother of Judas, leader and high-priest.	1 Macc. xiii—xvi.
139		Rome acknowledges the Jewish state.	
135–105		John Hyrcanus, son of Simon, king	See note on Obad. 21.
105		Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, king.	
c. 66–A.D. 135	PERIOD OF ROMAN ASCENDANCY.		
65		Capture of Jerusalem by Pompey. Palestine becomes part of the Roman province of Syria.	
c. 4		Birth of JESUS CHRIST.	

[1] Jonah himself lived about 780 B.C. See p. 104 and vol. i, p. xxx.

LECTIONARY TABLE

Shewing the days on which the several chapters or sections of the books of the Prophets in this volume are appointed to be read in the services of the Church of England.

LESSONS FOR SUNDAYS AND HOLY DAYS

SUNDAY OR HOLY DAY	MORNING	EVENING	EVENING
Twentieth Sunday after Trinity			Dan. i
Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity	Dan. iii	Dan. iv	v
Twenty-second Sunday after Trinity.	vi	vii. 9–28	xii
Twenty-third Sunday after Trinity		Joel ii. 21–32	Joel iii. 9–21
Twenty-seventh Sunday after Trinity.		Hag. ii. 1–9	Mal. iii—iv
Purification of B. V. Mary	Mal. iii. 1–5 (Ep.)	ii. 1–9	
Ash Wednesday	Joel ii. 12–17 (Ep.)	Jonah iii	
Wednesday before Easter		Dan. ix. 20–27	
Easter Even	Zech. ix.		
St. Philip and St. James		Zech. iv.	
Ascension Day	Dan. vii. 9–14		
Tuesday in Whitsun-week	Joel ii. 21–32		
St. John Baptist	Mal. iii. 1–6	Mal. iv	
St. Peter		Zech. iii	
St. Michael and All Angels		Dan. x. 4–21	

DAILY LESSONS

DATE	MORNING	EVENING	DATE	MORNING	EVENING
Sept.			Oct.		
13		Dan. i	6	Jonah iii	Jonah iv
14	Dan. ii. 1–23	ii. 24–49	15		Hag. i
15	iii.	iv. 1–18	16	Hag. ii. 1–9	ii. 10–23
16	iv. 19–37	v. 1–16	17	Zech. i. 1–17	Zech. i. 18—ii. 13
17	v. 17–31	vi	19	iii	iv
18	vii. 1–14	vii. 15–28	20	v	vi
19	ix. 1–19	ix. 20–27	21	vii	viii. 1–13
20	x. 1–19	xii	22	viii. 14–23	ix. 9–17
27	Joel i	Joel ii. 1–14	23	x	xi
28	ii. 15–27	ii. 28—iii. 8	24	xii	xiii
30	iii. 9–21		25	xiv	Mal. i
Oct.			26	Mal. ii	iii. 1–12
5	Jonah i	Jonah ii	27	iii. 13—iv. 6	

A GLOSSARY

OF

WORDS EITHER OBSCURE OR OBSOLETE

Adamant. See Glossary, vol. iii. Zech. vii. 12.

Answered. Used anomalously, in the sense of *made a statement*, no question having preceded it. Cf. Acts v. 8. Dan. ii. 26.

Astonied. Old and more correct form of *astonished*; from Old French *estonner*. See Glossary, vol. iii. Dan. iii. 24; iv. 19.

Blasting, a withering of plants. Always combined with mildew in the Bible. Hag. ii. 17.

Choler, anger, rage; from Old French *cholere*, Greek *chole*, 'the bile.' Dan. viii. 7; xi. 11.

Colt, applied in the Bible to a young ass or camel. Zech. ix. 9.

Delightsome, delightful, delectable. Mal. iii. 12.

Demanded, asked. 'Like the French, *demander*, to ask, simply; not, as now, in the stronger sense of *to ask with authority, or as a right*' (W. A. Wright). Dan. ii. 27.

Excellent, surpassing, pre-eminent. 'Stars are not seen by day because they are darkened by the *excellent* brightness of the sun' (W. A. Wright). See 'Excellency', Glossary, vol. iii. Dan. ii. 31; iv. 36; v. 12, 14; vi. 3.

Fat. See Winefat, Glossary, vol. iii. Hag. ii. 16; Joel ii. 24; iii. 13.

Favoured. See 'Well favoured'.

Fray, to frighten. See Glossary, vol. ii. Zech. i. 21.

Hosen, Old English plural. Coverings for the feet and legs. Dan. iii. 21.

Meat. Food generally. Hag. ii. 12; Mal. i. 12; iii. 10; Joel i. 16; Dan. i. 8, &c.

Or ever, before. A pleonastic, reduplicated form of 'ere'. Cf. Ps. lviii. 8; xc. 2; Prov. viii. 23. Dan. vi. 24.

Pulse, pottage, made of meal; from Lat. *puls*. 'If all the world should in a pet of temperance feed on pulse' (Milton, *Comus*, 721). Dan. i. 12.

Sackbut. From Spanish *sacabucke*, a tube or pipe, corrupted from Gk. *sambuke*. The Old English *sackbut* was a bass trumpet with a slide like a trombone. Dan. iii. 5, &c.

Seethe, boil, of flesh for sacrifice. From Anglo-Saxon *seothan*. Cf. Germ. *sieden*. Zech. xiv. 21.

Stout, stubborn, as in adverb 'stoutly'. Old Fr. *estout*, Dutch *stout*. Mal. iii. 13.

Well favoured, with handsome face, favour having, in English, originally the meaning of countenance. 'His favour is familiar to me' (*Cymbeline* v. v. 93). Dan. i. 4.

Whiles, the genitive singular of the substantive 'while' (as in 'for a while') used adverbially. Dan. v. 2.

Worse-liking. An Old English expression, meaning in worse condition. 'You like well, and bear your years very well' (*2 Henry IV*, III. ii. 92). Dan. i. 10.

HAGGAI

INTRODUCTION

A general view of the post-exilic prophets.

THE books of Haggai and Zechariah mark a turning-point in prophetic history. In comparison with pre-exilic prophecy the work of the post-exilic prophets lacks fire and verve. Their religious ideals, at first sight at any rate, appear different. Less stress is laid on character, more on religious observances. This is especially the case with Haggai and Zechariah (see e.g. Hag. i. 8, 9; Zech. ii. 10–14). There is a corresponding difference of style. The literary treatment becomes, in many cases, more laboured and self-conscious. We miss the spontaneous outpouring of religious feeling that we find in the earlier prophets. Literary devices become more frequent, such as the allegories of Jonah, and the imaginary prophecies of a supposed earlier date in Daniel.[1] If we find in Zechariah and Daniel the traditional use of the prophetic vision, we miss in them the marvellous imaginative power of Ezekiel which made his imagery so singularly real.

The decline of prophetic gifts.

There were many causes for this falling off in prophetic power. First among them we must place the fact that the earlier prophets, aided by the chastening influence of the Exile, had, to a large extent, done their work. There was no longer the gross idolatrous worship, with its licentious orgies and often cruel rites, to contend against. Again, social and political conditions had changed. 'Israel is no longer a kingdom, but a colony. . . . The community is poor and feeble, cut off from all the habits and prestige of their past, and beginning the rudiments of life again in hard struggle with nature and hostile tribes.'[2] There was no longer a body of plutocrats grinding the face of the poor, nor a more or less despotic king, from whose selfishness and injustice an appeal might be made to the ideal anointed one, the Messiah that was to come.[3] Outwardly there was no great foreign invader, in whom the prophets could foresee the instrument of Divine vengeance. It is true that the people were continually harassed by petty neighbours,

[1] See pp. 105 and 119. On some of the special characteristics of apocalyptic literature see Introduction to Daniel, § 8, pp. 124–6.

[2] G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. p. 189.

[3] In Haggai the Messianic hope, so far as it existed at all, is centred upon Zerubbabel, the ruling prince; in Daniel it appears rather as an eschatological conception. See p. 128.

the Samaritans and others, and more or less by local Persian officials; but an appeal to the Persian king was always possible, and more than once effectual. The rule of Persia was on the whole just and beneficent, but for that very reason not calculated to arouse feelings of patriotism. It was otherwise, of course, in the time of the Maccabees; but, though the book of Daniel was a noble work, and made a new epoch in religious literature, the power of prophecy, as generally understood, had lain dormant too long to be roused even by the stirring events of the time. An earlier prophet would have thrown all his weight into the work of Judas and his brothers, and probably have openly defied Antiochus. He certainly would have lashed with scathing scorn the time-servers among his own people.

What, at any rate, the earlier post-exilic prophets had to contend against was lukewarmness in religious life. This shewed itself in an indifference to the worship of Jehovah (Hag. i. 2–9). 'The like collapse has often been experienced in history when bands of religious men, going forth, as they thought, to freedom and the immediate erection of a holy commonwealth, have found their unity wrecked and their enthusiasm dissipated by a few inclement seasons on a barren and a hostile shore.'[1] The contrast between the pre-exilic and the post-exilic prophets may be illustrated by comparing two passages in Jeremiah and Haggai, Jer. xxii. 14, 15 and Hag. i. 4. Both complain of men living in panelled houses, but how different is the thought and its expression! 'Shalt thou reign because thou strivest to excel in cedar?' writes Jeremiah of Jehoiachin. He is describing a magnificent and gorgeously decorated palace built out of the taxes and forced labour of the poor. Haggai's complaint is rather concerning the easy-going, who were content with their own comforts, and preferred to spend their own money on themselves than on God.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that there was a lack of spirituality in the post-exilic prophets. It was as both the expression and the inspiration of spiritual feelings that the Temple and its services were valued. Through the influence of Ezekiel the worship of the Temple became instinct with symbolism. From the time of Nehemiah, if not before, it included prayer and singing as well as merely sacrificial acts. To the post-exilic age belongs the greater part at least of the Psalter. Again, Joel is emphatically one of the most spiritual of the prophets. But it was not so much the needs of spirituality as of morality which called forth the peculiar energies of the Hebrew prophet, and he was raised up, just as all the greatest teachers have been, in times of religious crisis, to contend against public and dangerous evils, not so much to confirm the faithful as to call sinners to repentance.

[1] G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. p. 235.

The time and the occasion of the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah (i—viii).

The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah (i—viii) are among the very few writings of the Old Testament which can be dated with absolute accuracy. The exact dates of the four prophecies of Haggai (Hag. i. 1; ii. 1, 10, 20) and several of those of Zechariah (Zech. i. 1, 7; vii. 1) are given in the text, and these are confirmed in a general way by the Chronicler in Ezra v. 1 and vi. 14, and they also clearly agree with the subjects of the several prophecies. These two prophets were probably among the exiles who first returned when Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus. One of the first acts of that monarch, who then became the overlord of the Jews, was to permit, or more correctly speaking to command, the restoration of their Temple. His motives were probably mixed. By some it is supposed that his chief object was to have in Jerusalem a strong and faithful ally in a future struggle with Egypt. By others it has been suggested that the spiritual character of the Persian religion would have predisposed him to that of the Jews. But on the other hand we find him, in a contemporary inscription, declaring that he was called to the rule of Babylon by Marduk, and describing the honour which he intends to shew to Marduk, Bel, and Nebo.[1] It appears therefore to have been a matter of principle with him to conciliate the conquered by adopting their religious rites.

What appears to be the original decree[2] is given in Ezra vi. 3–5. While the charges are to be made out of the royal revenues, the sacred vessels taken by Nebuchadrezzar restored, and even the general dimensions of the Temple are given, no express mention is made of a general return of the exiles.[3] At any rate, there is reason to believe that the number of those who actually returned was very small. According to Ezra ii. 64, 65 and Neh. vii. 66, 67, the whole number was 42,360, besides 7,337 slaves and 245 (Ezra 200) singing men and singing women. Even this was

[1] See Chronological Table in vol. iii. p. ix. note 2, and note on Isa. xli. 25.

[2] The reader should bear in mind that whereas we have full reason to trust the diaries of Ezra and Nehemiah and other contemporary documents on which the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are based, the setting of these documents, which is the work of the Chronicler (circa 300 B.C.), is of small historical value. I and II Chronicles with Ezra and Nehemiah were originally one book.

[3] Even in the Chronicler's version of the decree of Cyrus in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i. 1, 2, its chief object is the rebuilding of the Temple. It is, however, quite possible that in Ezra vi only the part of the decree which bears upon that subject is quoted. The Chronicler's version differs from the original, however, not only by including an express invitation to all the Jews to return, but chiefly in its more distinctly religious tone, the action of Cyrus being ascribed to an immediate revelation of Jehovah, whose name is not even mentioned in the decree of Ezra vi.

a poor result when contrasted with the glorious hopes of a great national restoration raised by the Deutero-Isaiah. But it is highly probable that the number was in fact very much smaller, the list given in Ezra ii and Neh. vii being probably that of the result of the census taken by Nehemiah.[1] According to the Chronicler (Ezra iii. 2, 3) the first act towards the rebuilding of the Temple was to set up the altar of burnt-offering. At any rate, sacrifices to Jehovah had already become customary in Haggai's time (ii. 14). It would appear from Hag. ii. 15, 18 that it was not until the second year of Darius Hystaspes (sixteen years after the Return) that even the foundation of the Temple was laid.[2]

The backwardness was due to several causes. Cyrus had indeed decreed that the costs should be borne by the royal treasury, but there was no one to enforce it. It was obviously to the advantage

[1] A comparison of Ezra ii—iii. 1 with Neh. vii. 6–73 presents great critical difficulties. In any case the Chronicler in Ezra not only took the list from Neh. vii (Nehemiah's diary), but went on in Ezra iii. 1 to the opening words of the narrative that immediately followed, making it do duty for a wholly different description. But it seems extremely unlikely that Nehemiah in his diary should have given the result of a previous census, and not that which he instituted himself. Again, verse 73 describes it as that of the people settled in their cities, and verses 26–38 mention the cities where they were settled. Moreover, the religious organization implied (Nethinims, singers, and porters), point to the time of Nehemiah rather than that of the Return, as does also the name Tirshatha, elsewhere given only to Nehemiah by himself. The Chronicler calls the officer by the name Pekah. On the other hand there is nothing in vii. 6, 7 which implies that the list was not that of Nehemiah's time. Taken by itself quite literally it no more implies that the individuals numbered were the same as those who returned than that those who returned were individually the same as those who were carried into exile by Nebuchadrezzar. The Chronicler evidently misunderstood these verses to mean that it was the list of the returned exiles, and either added or altered Neh. vii. 5 b, 6; or he may have even copied it as he found it, if we suppose that after ver. 5 Nehemiah had intended to insert the list of the exiles and had never done so. A further possibility is that the list as it now stands is a combination of the two lists.

[2] The Chronicler's statement (Ezra iii. 8–13) that the foundation stone was laid in the second year of the Return may not improbably have arisen from mistaking for this the second year of Darius, and also misunderstanding Hag. ii. 3 to refer to the new building. Hence may also have arisen the story of the old men who wept on this occasion, when they beheld the meaner dimensions of Zerubbabel's temple. Other commentators have reconciled the statements in Ezra and Haggai by supposing that the foundation was laid originally in 536, but that as all attempts to carry the work further proved for the time abortive, either the ceremony was actually repeated when the work was resumed in earnest in 520 (so Stade, Meyer, Bertholet, &c.), or at any rate that the 24th day of the 9th month in 520, when the work was so resumed, was treated as the day on which the foundation of the Temple was really and effectively laid, and Haggai and Zechariah ignored what took place in 536 altogether' (Driver). But considering the glaring chronological errors the Chronicler makes with reference to the Persian kings, by far the simplest and most probable solution appears to be that he has here made a very natural mistake.

of the corrupt Persian officials to put stumbling-blocks in the way. In this they were helped by the Samaritans, who were angry with the Jews because their offer to help in the work of rebuilding had been rejected. They complained to the Persian court, and only finally failed to thwart the work by the discovery of the decree of Cyrus at Ecbatana in the reign of Darius (522–485 B.C.). The newly settled people had further to struggle with a succession of bad seasons and scanty harvests. But the greatest hindrance of all, which it was Haggai's work to discover and expose, was an indifference and worldliness which made them unwilling to cope with these difficulties. 'Apathy took the place of enthusiasm, and sordid worries succeeded to high hopes.' But the root of the evil lay in the fact that they cared more for their own comforts than for the service of Jehovah. Haggai knew that the 'Temple was the outward symbol of the dwelling of God in the midst of Israel. To let it be neglected was, alike for themselves and in the sight of the nations around, a practical denial of the truth which gave meaning to their return from Exile. . . . The Temple was the necessary centre for the people, whose bond of unity must henceforth be their religion.'[1]

Haggai's exhortations and teaching.

With simple directness he sought, therefore, in a series of plain addresses (only summaries of which are probably preserved), to kindle their zeal and to encourage their hope. He indignantly rebuked their self-indulgence, which permitted them to live in panelled houses, while Jehovah's house was lying waste. He pointed out that their agricultural distress was God's chastisement for their supineness; that poor and mean though their ruined Temple might now appear, stripped as it was of its former splendour, Jehovah was with them; and that as a consequence of the political convulsions which he was anticipating, all nations would bring their costliest treasures to adorn it, for their riches and their gold were His. The latter glory of the Temple would therefore be greater than the former. By a kind of parable, in which he enunciates the

[1] Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 427. 'In this Haggai betrays his affinity with Ezekiel, who taught that it is by the possession of the sanctuary that Israel is sanctified (Ezek. xxxvii. 28). In truth the new movement of religious thought and feeling which started from the fall of the Hebrew State took two distinct lines, of which Ezekiel and the anonymous authors of Isa. xl—lxvi are the respective representatives. While the latter developed their great picture of Israel the mediatorial nation, the systematic and priestly mind of Ezekiel had shaped a more material conception of the religious vocation of Israel in that picture of the new theocracy where the temple and its ritual occupy the largest place . . . (cf. Ezek. xliii. 7 seq. with Jer. xxxi. 40; Isa. iv. 5).' *Encycl. Britann.* (11th edition), xii. p. 816.

sad truth that evil is more contagious than holiness[1], he tells them that all their work will be tainted with guilt, if they allowed their sinful laxity to hinder any longer the restoration of the Sanctuary. To Zerubbabel, who, in spite of his dependent position as governor of a Persian province, was the representative of the Davidic dynasty, he addresses words which would seem to revive the Messianic hope of the earlier prophets. In the impending overthrow of the kingdom of Persia[2] he foresees the long-expected kingdom of peace, and Zerubbabel, chosen as Jehovah's most treasured possession, is apparently regarded as its Messiah.

Haggai's anticipations were not immediately or literally fulfilled. The disturbances in the Persian Empire were speedily suppressed by Darius, before they had had time to spread to Syria and Palestine. What actually became of Zerubbabel himself is quite unknown. (See note on Zech. iii. 8.)

The literary style and religious value of his work.

Too much has been made of the tame monotony and prosaic weakness of Haggai's literary style. No doubt it certainly lacks the impassioned fervour and free rhapsody for which the pre-exilic prophets are often distinguished. But there is a certain vivacity and force in his plain practical addresses which were exactly suited to the situation with which he was faced. And he certainly succeeded in accomplishing the immediate end which he had in view. The foundation of the Temple was laid on the 24th of the second month of the second year of Darius, and it was completed on the third day of the twelfth month of his sixth year (516 B. C.). 'There is a ponderous and simple dignity in the emphatic reiteration addressed alike to every class of the community, prince, priests, and people. *Be strong, be strong, be strong.* Cleave, stick fast to the work you have to do. Or again, *Consider your ways, consider, consider, consider.* It is the Hebrew phrase for the endeavour, characteristic of the gifted seers of all times, to compel their hearers to turn the inside of their hearts outwards to their own view, to take the masks from off their consciences, and to see

[1] 'These poor colonists, in their hope deferred, were learning the old lesson, which humanity finds so hard to understand, that repentance and newborn zeal do not immediately work a change upon our material condition; but the natural consequences of sin often outweigh the influence of conversion, and though devoted to God and very industrious, we may be punished for a sinful past. Evil has an infectious power greater than holiness. Its effects are more extensive and lasting. It was no bit of casuistry which Haggai sought to illustrate by his appeal to the priests on the ceremonial law, but an ethical truth deeply embedded in human experience' (G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 249).

[2] The accession of Darius was marked by an outbreak of hostilities in different parts of his kingdom. See notes on Hag. ii. 7, 22 and Zech. i. 11.

life steadily, and to see it whole.'[1] The prophet thus sought to carry out the probable meaning of his name[2]—'Yahweh hath girded.'

That Haggai foreshortened and idealised the future is true, but this he has in common with all the prophets who have spoken of the kingdom of God[3], of which, though partially realised in the Christian Church, the transcendent glory, the crowning triumph, and the all-embracing universality are yet to come.

[1] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, iii. 89.

[2] Wellhausen takes Haggai as a contraction for Hagariah, just as Zacchai (Zacchaeus) is known to be a contraction for Zechariah. *Encycl. Britann.* (11th edition), vol. xii. p. 814.

[3] See note on ii. 23.

HAGGAI

I. EXPOSTULATION AND OBEDIENCE.
i. 1–15.

Selfish neglect of religious duty. i. 1–4.

1 In the second year [a] of Darius [b] the king, in the sixth month [c], in the first day of the month, came the word of the LORD by Haggai the prophet unto Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel [d], governor [e] of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Jehozadak [f], the high priest, saying,

2 Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, saying,
This people [g] say, [1] It is not the time *for us* to come,
The time for the LORD's house to be built [h].

3 Then came the word of the LORD by Haggai the prophet, saying,

4 Is it a time for you yourselves to dwell in your [i] cieled houses,
While this house [k] lieth waste?

National distress due to God's displeasure. i. 5–11.

5 Now therefore thus saith the LORD of hosts:
[2] Consider [1] your ways.

6 Ye have sown much, and bring in little;
Ye eat, but ye have not enough;
Ye drink, but ye are not filled with drink;

[1] According to many ancient versions, *The time is not come for the LORD's house &c.*

† [2] Heb. *Set your heart on your ways.*

N.B. An obelus (†) *attached to a marginal note shews that the alternative rendering or reading is preferred, or calls attention to some other important point.*

[a] 520 B.C. See Introd., p. 3.

[b] Hystaspes (522–485 B.C.), who was defeated by the Greeks at Marathon (490 B.C.). He reverted to Cyrus's policy of kindness towards the Jews (Ezra vi. 1–12), which had been interrupted by the plots of their enemies (Ezra iv. 4, 5).

[c] i.e. Elul (Neh. vi. 15; 1 Macc. xiv. 27), our Aug.–Sept.

[d] Of the royal house, therefore of David, Shealtiel being the son of Jehoiachin. See 1 Chron. iii. 17; Matt. i. 12; and note on ii. 23. Zerubbabel appears to have succeeded Sheshbazzar (Ezra i. 8). See note on Zech. iii. 8.

[e] Heb. *Pechah*. Here of an officer under the Persian satrap.

[f] See 1 Chron. vi. 15; and note [c] on Zech. iii.

[g] 'Not My people, but reproachfully, this people, as in acts disowning Him, and so deserving to be disowned by Him' (Pusey). Cf. Isa. vi. 9, 10; viii. 6, 11, 12, &c.

[h] We should probably read, as in marg., with LXX. Their reason or excuse may have been that the seventy years predicted by Jeremiah (xxix. 10) had not yet expired. Contrast Ps. cxxxii. 2–5.

[i] Better, 'panelled', possibly with cedars brought from Lebanon for the Temple.

[k] i.e. the Temple, to which the prophet actually or in imagination points.

[l] See marg. The expression is used four times in this short book (i. 5, 7; ii. 15, 18). The people are exhorted to consider their past conduct and what it had led to. See Introd., p. 6.

Ye clothe you, but there is none warm;
And he that earneth wages earneth wages *to put it*
into a bag with holes [a].

7 Thus saith the LORD of hosts:
[1] Consider your ways.

8 Go up to the [2] mountain [b], and bring wood, and
build the house;
And I will take pleasure in it,
And I will be glorified [c],
Saith the LORD.

9 Ye looked for much [d],
And, lo, it came to little;
And when ye brought it home,
I did [3] blow upon it [e].
Why? saith the LORD of hosts.
Because of mine house that lieth waste,
While ye run every man to his own house [f].

10 Therefore [4] for your sake [g] the heaven is stayed
from dew,
And the earth is stayed *from* her fruit.

11 And I called for a drought [h] upon the land, and
upon the mountains,
And upon the corn, and upon the wine, and upon
the oil [i],
And upon that which the ground bringeth forth,

[1] Heb. *Set your heart on your ways.*†

[2] Or, *hill country* †

[3] Or, *blow it away*

[4] Or, *over you*

[a] A proverb for money spent without profit. There had been scant harvests, they were ill-nourished, ill-clad, and could save nothing of their small earnings. What little they had, too, they had no heart to enjoy.

[b] Probably the hill country of Judah, where were woods at this time, though trees there could never have been abundant.

[c] 'Or "glorify Myself" by pouring out My blessing upon you, and bringing in the Messianic age' (Driver). See note on ii. 23.

[d] For a good harvest. Cf. Isa. v. 10.

[e] It was spoilt. Moslems still have a superstition that if any one breathes on corn in a barn the devil carries some of it away at night (see Driver). It may, however, merely mean that Jehovah with His mighty tempest would blow it away as though it were chaff.

[f] They were self-indulgent, and eager about their own affairs. Cf. Ps. cxix. 32; Prov. i. 16. But Wellhausen and others are probably right in reading, by a slight change, 'take pleasure every man in his own house.'

[g] 'All through history natural calamities have had a wonderful influence on the spirits of men, forcing them to search their own hearts and to believe that Providence is conducted for other ends than those of our physical prosperity' (G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. p. 239).

[h] 'The word is carefully chosen to express the idea of the *lex talionis*. Because the Jews left the house of God *chârēbh* (waste) they were punished with *chōrebh* (drought)' (Keil).

[i] The three principal products of Palestine (cf. Hos. ii. 8). Just as Jehovah's vindication of His people was declared by sending these (Joel ii. 19; Deut. vii. 13), so His withholding them was the expression of His judgements.

And upon men, and upon cattle,
And upon all the labour of the hands.

Prompt obedience insures God's aid. i. 12–15.

12 Then Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, with all the remnant[a] of the people, obeyed the voice of the LORD their God, and the words of Haggai the prophet, as the LORD their God had sent him; and the people did fear before the LORD.

13 Then[b] spake Haggai the LORD'S messenger in the LORD'S message unto the people, saying, I am with you[c], saith the LORD.

14 And the LORD stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people; and they came and did work in the house of the LORD of hosts, their God,

15 in the four and twentieth day of the month[d], in the sixth *month*, in the second year of Darius the king.

II. ENCOURAGEMENT AGAINST DEPRESSION. ii. 1–9.

Work and a courageous faith the best antidote to despondency. ii. 1–5.

2 In the seventh *month*[e], in the one and twentieth *day* of the month, came the word of the LORD by Haggai the prophet, saying,

2 Speak now to Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, and to the remnant of the people, saying,

[a] The fraction which had returned from Babylon. See Introd., p. 3.

[b] This verse interrupts the connexion, and is not improbably a marginal gloss. On it was based the tradition, spoken of by S. Jerome and S. Cyril of Alexandria, that Haggai (as also Malachi and John the Baptist) was really an angel in human form. It is the only passage where a prophet is directly called a messenger (angel), though Malachi means 'My messenger'. See Mal. ii. 7, and Introd. to Malachi, p. 42. Cf. Isa. vii. 14; viii. 8, 10.

[c] The promise of Divine help made to Jacob, Moses, Joshua, and Jeremiah (Gen. xxviii. 15; Ex. iii. 12; Josh. i. 5; Jer. i. 8).

[d] In a little more than three weeks after Haggai's appeal they began to prepare the ground for rebuilding the Temple. See Ezra v. 2. The interval had probably been spent in making plans and preparations.

[e] i.e. Tishri (Sept.-Oct.). This, according to H (Lev. xxiii. 34–36, 39–43), would have been during the Feast of Booths, but it was probably only relatively fixed at this time (see Deut. xvi. 13), and apparently not kept in the period of the Second Temple till Nehemiah's time. See Neh. viii. 13–18.

3 Who is left [a] among you that saw this house in its
former glory?
And how do ye see it now?
Is it not in your eyes as nothing?
4 Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the LORD;
And be strong, O Joshua, son of Jehozadak, the
high priest;
And be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the
LORD, and work:
For I am with you, saith the LORD of hosts,
5 [1] *According to* the word that I covenanted with you [1] Or, Remember *the word &c.*
when ye came out of Egypt [b],
And my spirit [2] abode among you: [2] Or, *abideth* †
Fear ye not.

Song of the restored Temple. ii. 6–9.

6 For thus saith the LORD of hosts:
Yet once, it is a little while [c],
And I will shake the heavens [d], and the earth, and
the sea, and the dry land;
7 And I will shake all nations [e],
And [3] the desirable things of all nations shall come [f], [3] Or, *the things desired* (Heb. *desire*) *of all nations shall come*
And I will fill this house with glory,
Saith the LORD of hosts.

[a] Sixty-six years had passed since the destruction of the Temple (586 B.C.), and so only a few old people could have remembered it. The contrast here is not between the dimensions of the new Temple, the foundations of which had not yet been laid (see note on ver. 18), and the old, or still less of the materials of which they were each built; but between the Temple as it was before the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar and the dismantled and ruined Temple as it was before its restoration. It was possibly a misinterpretation of this verse, however, that gave rise to the Chronicler's story of the mixture of joy and weeping at the laying of the foundation stone (Ezra iii. 12, 13). See Introd., p. 4.

[b] Many commentators (Wellhausen, Driver, G. A. Smith, &c.) think that this clause, which is not in LXX, is a gloss. For the next clause cf. Zech. iv. 6.

[c] Lit. 'again one little'; i.e. in a brief space. For the foreshortening of the future so often observable in prophecy, see Gen. Introd., vol. i. p. xviii, and Introd. to *Daniel*, p. 123.

[d] As frequently with other prophets, Haggai connects great convulsions of nature with the catastrophe which he foretells. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 1; Nah. i. 3–6; Joel iii. 15, 16.

[e] Doubtless Haggai is thinking of the revolts of provinces and races which threatened to disrupt the Persian Empire when Darius came to the throne in 522 (see note on Zech. i. 11). Although these were quelled by him, the empire was much shaken under his successor Xerxes. At a later date Alexander the Great shattered it, his own empire being divided into contending fragments at his death. See note on Zech. vi. 8.

[f] In the Massoretic text, though the noun is singular the verb is plural. The former cannot therefore refer to a person. 'The simple meaning is that the nations would come, bringing with them all their riches, that they might offer themselves and all their possessions a sacrifice to God' (Calvin). Under Herod the Great the Temple was made very magnificent, the choicest treasure

The silver is mine[a], and the gold is mine, 8
Saith the LORD of hosts.
The latter glory of this house shall be greater than 9
the former,
Saith the LORD of hosts:
And in this place will I give peace[b],
Saith the LORD of hosts.

III. PROSPERITY WOULD BE THE RESULT OF THEIR RENEWED ENERGY. ii. 10-19.

A lesson from ceremonial customs. ii. 10-14.

In the four and twentieth *day* of the ninth[c] *month*, in 10
the second year of Darius, came the word of the LORD
by Haggai the prophet, saying, Thus saith the LORD 11
of hosts: Ask now the priests concerning the law[d],
saying, If one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his gar- 12
ment, and with his skirt do touch bread, or pottage, or
wine, or oil, or any meat[e], shall it become holy[f]?
And the priests answered and said, No. Then said 13
Haggai[g], If one that is unclean by a dead body[h]
touch any of these, shall it be unclean? And the
priests answered and said, It shall be unclean. Then 14
answered Haggai and said, So is[i] this people, and so
is this nation before me, saith the LORD; and so is

being used to adorn it. Cf. Isa. lx. 5-13. But what Haggai saw literally was more truly fulfilled spiritually in the rich endowments of spiritual gifts in the Christian Church.

[a] It belongs to ME, and therefore I will make the Gentiles bring it for My service.

[b] Haggai hoped that with the completion of the Temple Jehovah would return to it in glory, and the reign of peace would begin. Cf. Isa. ix. 6, 7.

[c] i. e. Chisleu (Nov.-Dec.).

[d] Better, 'Ask now the priests a decision'. Cf. Ezek. xliv. 23. The word *Torah*, meaning instruction, was specially used of the oral decisions or directions made by the priests. These decisions, handed down traditionally, came, like our English common law, to be the recognized law on any given subject. So the word came in time to be used of the written law, and eventually of the whole Pentateuch, and, according to St. Paul's usage, of the whole system of Judaism founded upon it.

[e] Food. Cf. Hab. i. 16.

[f] Would the holiness of the flesh be regarded as sanctifying what it touched? At a later time this would seem to have been the case (Lev. vi. 27, P).

[g] The priests are assumed to have been present at the discourse, and in the second case are appealed to by Haggai directly.

[h] Food became ceremonially unclean by contact with one unclean from touching a dead body (Num. xix. 22), but it did not become holy by contact with holy things. Similarly, their sacrifices would not sanctify their conduct, while their sinful laxity was contaminating their sacrifices. There may be a hint of other vices, but at any rate they are not definitely mentioned.

[i] i. e. 'thus it is with'. 'The nation in its attitude towards the Lord resembles, on the one hand, a man who carries flesh in the lappet of his garment,

every work of their hands; and that which they offer there [a] is unclean.

Adversity had followed supineness, but prosperity would follow fulfilment of duty. ii. 15–19.

15 And now [b], I pray you, consider [c] from this day and upward [d], from before a stone was laid upon a stone
16 in the temple of the LORD: [1] through [e] all that time, when one came to an heap of twenty *measures* [f], there were but ten; when one came to the winefat [g] for to
17 draw out fifty vessels [h], there were but twenty. I smote you with blasting [i] and with mildew and with hail in all the work of your hands; yet ye *turned* not to me,
18 saith the LORD. Consider [c], I pray you, from this day and upward, from the four and twentieth day of the ninth *month*, since the day that the foundation of the
19 LORD'S temple was laid [k], consider it. Is the seed yet in the barn? yea [l], the vine, and the fig tree, and the pomegranate, and the olive tree hath not brought forth; from this day will I bless *you*.

[1] Heb. *since those days were.*

and on the other, a man who has become unclean through touching a corpse' (Keil). See Introd., p. 6.

[a] The altar set up by the Exiles on their return is probably alluded to. See Ezra iii. 3. By their habits of sin all their worship was impure.

[b] This passage is one of considerable difficulty, due, no doubt, partly to textual corruption. Its general meaning is: You people know that your harvests have been scanty since your return from Babylon seventeen years ago. It is because you have neglected the Temple restoration. Now that you are seriously undertaking this work, God will bless you. Driver prefers Nowack's rendering as follows: 'And now, I pray you, consider from to-day and onwards! Before a stone was laid upon a stone in the Temple of Yahweh [i.e. before to-day] how did ye fare?' The emendation required in the reading of these last words is very slight, and it is practically supported by LXX. So taken, 'Consider', &c., either means as before, consider your ways in future, and so secure the promised blessing (cf. i. 5, 7), or pay your attention to the promise of prosperity here held out. In either case 15b–16 is a parenthesis to contrast the past state with the future.

[c] See note on i. 5.

[d] i.e. forward. Cf. 1 Sam. xvi. 13.

[e] See note [b] at the beginning of the previous verse.

[f] Better (as LXX), 'twenty seahs'. A seah was $\frac{1}{3}$ ephah, or about $2\frac{2}{3}$ gallons. Their expectations were but half realised.

[g] The lower receptacle, into which flowed the juice of the grapes trodden by the foot in the winepress above.

[h] Better troughs or troughfuls, probably the quantity of juice in the vat from one filling of the press with grapes.

[i] i.e. of the sirocco. See notes on Jer. iv. 11 and Isa. xl. 7. Cf. Amos iv. 9; Deut. xxviii. 22; Ps. lxxviii. 47.

[k] This implies that the foundation was laid on that day. Cf. i. 4, 9; Zech. viii. 9, 10. See Introd., p. 4, note 2, and note on ii. 3.

[l] By the change of a vowel-point Nowack reads 'even yet'. There is again a contrast between the present and the future. The seed still remains in the barn unsown; the vine, figs, pomegranates have not yet fruited; but now that the

IV. THE GLORY OF ISRAEL'S KING CONTRASTED WITH THE FATE OF THE NATIONS. ii. 20–23.

The impending overthrow of nations. ii. 20–22.

And the word of the LORD came the second time unto 20
Haggai in the four and twentieth *day* of the month,
saying, Speak to Zerubbabel [a], governor of Judah, say- 21
ing,

I will shake [b] the heavens and the earth:
And I will overthrow the throne [c] of kingdoms, 22
And I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of
the nations [d];
And I will overthrow the chariots, and those that
ride in them;
And the horses and their riders shall come down,
Every one by the sword of his brother.

Zerubbabel God's treasured possession. iii. 23.

In that day, saith the LORD of hosts, 23
Will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant, the
son of Shealtiel, saith the LORD,
And will make thee as a signet [e]:
For I have chosen [f] thee,
Saith the LORD of hosts.

people have given up their selfish indifference to religion, this state of things will change from this very day, and a blessing is in store for them.

[a] After the *sermo ad populum* (vv. 10–19) follows one *ad magistrum*.

[b] See note on ii. 6.

[c] The ruling power which bound kingdoms under its sway.

[d] The Persian Empire would be broken up, and in the consequent national rivalries the Jews would come to their own. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 21; Zech. xiv. 13. At a later time at any rate there was internecine strife among Alexander's generals. See Daniel ii. 41, viii. 8, xi. 4, where see notes.

[e] Cf. Ecclus. xlix. 11. The signet was an honourable mark of royal favour, and conferred authority (Gen. xli. 42; Esther iii. 10), but was also itself of priceless value. It was worn either on the right hand or suspended round the neck by a cord (Gen. xxxviii. 18). Modern Arabs may be seen wearing it both ways. By thus making Zerubbabel a signet, Jeremiah's doom (Jer. xxii. 24) on Jehoiachin is reversed. See next note, and note on Dan. vi. 17.

[f] Thus Zerubbabel was restored to the position of Divine favour with which the Davidic or Messianic aspirations were associated, and from which his grandfather Jehoiachin (see note on i. 1) had been degraded. See Jer. xxii. 24, 30. What Haggai here does little more than hint, Zechariah makes more explicit (Zech. iii. 8; vi. 9–13). Although Zerubbabel never seems to have had either the opportunity or the strength of character required for exercising independent power, he served as the means of handing on the Messianic ideal, which was fulfilled in Christ and His kingdom (see Dan. ii. 44; 1 Cor. xv. 25; Heb. xii. 28). The Messiahship, here connected with Zerubbabel, had been previously connected with David (Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24; Isa. lv. 3), and probably with Hezekiah (Isa. ix. 2–7). See note on Zech. iii. 8.

ZECHARIAH[1]. i—viii

INTRODUCTION

ZECHARIAH, being the grandson (Zech. i. 1), according to the Chronicler the son (Ezra v. 1; vi. 14) of Iddo, belonged to one of the priestly clans which returned from Babylon after the Exile with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 4, 16). He was probably therefore quite a young man when he joined with Haggai in urging the people to prosecute with renewed vigour the work of rebuilding the Temple from the second year of Darius (520 B.C.; Ezra v. 1–5; cf. Hag. i. 4, 8, &c.). So successful were their united efforts that the work was completed in the sixth year of Darius (Ezra vi. 15). Nothing beyond this is known of Zechariah's life, but it is possible that Matt. xxiii. 35[2] may point to a tradition of his martyrdom.

A series of revolts in various parts of the empire had followed the succession of Darius in 522 B.C. (see note on Hag. ii. 7), and the Jews were watching these events with interest and anxiety. Were they not a sign that their humiliating troubles would soon be over and that their exaltation was at hand? The reconquest of Babylon, by Darius, may in particular have been regarded as the inauguration of the Messianic age. In any case the rebuilding of the Temple is the fundamental theme of Zechariah's prophecies. And this would appear to the Jews as the earnest of the glorious restoration of the kingdom of David which was to follow, while in the person of Zerubbabel the Messianic hope was centred. So prince and people are bidden, in their present despondency, to trust in the Divine power, by which all difficulties would be overcome and the work of the rebuilding of the Temple triumphantly accomplished (iv. 7). The return of Jehovah to Jerusalem is closely associated

[1] For Zechariah ix–xiv, see p. 85 ff.

[2] In this passage as it stands there is, of course, a confusion between Zechariah the son of the High Priest Jehoiada (see 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 21) and the prophet Zechariah, the son of Barachiah. It is usually assumed either that 'the son of Barachiah' is a gloss, or else that Barachiah has been written by mistake for Jehoiada, the mistake in either case being due to the familiarity of the name in connexion with Zechariah. But Zechariah the prophet would more naturally close the line of those who suffered persecution than Zachariah the priest, who perished before the rise of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the great line of prophets, especially in a context where the reference is particularly to the martyrdom of prophets (vers. 29, 30). It therefore seems not unlikely that the words 'whom ye slew between the altar and the sanctuary' are really the gloss. On the other hand, it may be urged that the truth of the tradition, if such existed, does not seem probable, as it is not easy to see how the prophet Zechariah could have excited so much hostility. Another very old explanation of the difficulty is that the reference of the evangelist or later redactor, who put the words into our Lord's mouth, was to Zechariah, son of Baruch, who was slain by the Zealots and the Idumeans in the Temple shortly before the siege of Jerusalem (*Jewish Wars*, IV. v. 4. See Whiston's Transl.).

with this work, and at first also with the restoration of the city walls (i. 16); but, as the prophecy advances, the last theme is exchanged for the greater thought that under Jehovah's protecting care no walls would be necessary (ii. 4). The superintendence of the work was in the hands of the prince, Zerubbabel (iv. 9; vi. 12), the anointed of Jehovah, who, acting with the priest Joshua, would bring in the Messianic age. Sin, which had been the great hindrance to this in the past, and the cause of Israel's punishment (vii. 9–14), would speedily be removed (iii. 4, 9; v; viii. 16–17), and then would follow a time of peace and prosperity (i. 17; iii. 10). The people would no longer be the victims of harassing wars (viii. 4, 5). Famine and drought would give way to fertility and abundant harvests (viii. 12. Cf. Hag. ii. 16–19). Above all, they would be Jehovah's people and He their God in truth and righteousness.

In character Zechariah shews a somewhat decided contrast to his contemporary, Haggai. While the latter was eager, impetuous, and practical, Zechariah was more retiring, gentle, and visionary. The constantly repeated phrase, 'And ye shall know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you' (ii. 9, 11; iv. 9; vi. 15), suggests a certain diffidence of the prophet in the reception of his message. Haggai in boldly rebuking the apathy of the people reminds the reader of the stern denunciations of the earlier prophets; but Zechariah, though equally earnest, appears more sympathetic. Apart from i. 1–6; vii. 7–14; viii. 16–17, there is hardly a word of recrimination in the whole book, and even these passages are couched in a tone of tender remonstrance and warning. The same feeling of sympathy is shewn for the people in their present condition of despondency, the note throughout being one of encouragement and hope.[1]

It may be true, as Dr. G. A. Smith suggests, that Zechariah's visions should be regarded not so much as dreams, or perhaps we should say a sort of ecstatic second sight[2], but as the result of a deliberate desire to give a literary expression to the results of meditation and study. Yet even so, this very method of composition argued for its success a high power of imagination, which could not only see curious symbolic meanings, as well as a certain poetic beauty in outward things, such as the mounted scouts in a myrtle grove, but drew combined pictures full of weird imagery, like those of the olive trees with their bowls and pipes, and the woman in the measure borne away by women with stork-

[1] For further points of contrast see Charles, *Eschatology*, p. 118.

[2] Sir W. Barrett (*Psychical Research*, 1911) holds that 'the impression in all phantasms . . . is made directly on the mind of the percipients, and not through their organs of hearing or sight. The mind then projects the vision outside itself, and hears sounds or sees visions apparently in external space.' See p. 20, note [a].

like wings. It is unfortunate that, owing probably to the corruption of the text, much of the symbolical meaning remains still obscure and perplexing. It is of course true that Jewish literature was largely dominated by symbolic visions from the time of Ezekiel till well into the Christian era.[1] This may have been partly due to the Exile; for in Babylon the Jews would be brought into contact with the awe-inspiring art which found expression in the colossal and weird figures still to be seen in our museums.[2] Stanley[3] observes, too, how in many cases Zechariah's visions are tinged with Persian imagery. Thus the seven eyes (iv. 10) were, not improbably, reminiscent of the seven princes who had access to the throne of Darius. The messengers riding on various coloured horses (i. 8–11) or driving to and fro in chariots (vi. 1–8) certainly resembled the celebrated system of Persian posts, which sped across the Great Empire (Esther iii. 13, 15; Herod. viii. 98) bringing news of war and of peace.

Thus we find that what was only occasional in the earlier Prophets tended to become Zechariah's normal method. And while with him the vision largely superseded the direct address of Jehovah, an angel is introduced as an intermediary between Jehovah and the Prophet. It is these traits which mark Zechariah as a distinct connecting link between the earlier prophetic literature and the apocalyptic which followed. But while the latter abounds in pictures of blood and devastation of the nation's enemies, Zechariah loves to dwell on the peace and prosperity of his own people.

Both Haggai and Zechariah stand in marked contrast to the Chronicler (see Ezra and Nehemiah *passim*). For while the latter saw that the chief difficulty of the Jews lay in the opposition of outward foes, they realised that a far more serious hindrance was their own inertness and want of faith.

The field of Zechariah's visions is mainly confined to Palestine, but his outlook is occasionally directed to nations outside. And hence his attitude is, as with the earlier prophets, two-fold. While the wicked oppressors are to be punished (vi. 1–8), the nations are eventually to be united with Israel in the work of Israel's God (viii. 21–23).

Although Zechariah, like Malachi at a later date, laid stress upon external worship, he valued it as connected with a reverent feeling for God, a pure and holy life, and a due recognition of the rights of others. And so he does not hesitate to shew the futility of ceremonial worship which was accompanied by moral depravity (i. 4; vii. 9, 10, 11; viii. 12), nor to urge 'the duty—so homely,

[1] See vol. iii. pp. 15–18.

[2] See vol. ii. p. 14, and note on Ezek. i. 5.

[3] *Jewish Church*, vol. iii. p. 90.

so obvious, yet so rarely accepted—that every man and every nation should do the one work set before them at the special time of their existence.'

In assigning to Zechariah his place in the history of Jewish Theology we should call to mind his vivid realisation of the Messianic hope in the person of the Branch (iii. 8; vi. 12), his advanced angelology (i. 9, where see note, 13, 14, &c.)—and some would add his demonology (but see note on iii. 1), and not least his insistence on high moral traits in contrast to the merely outward act of fasting (vii. 1–6; viii. 18, 19). None of these features, with the possible exception of the last (Isa. lviii. 1–12, but see Introd. to Isa. xl—lxvi, p. 212), was altogether new, but in their combination and the stress which is laid upon them we may recognize what may be fairly considered a new stage in religious thought.

'The chief profit of these beautiful oracles', writes Prof. G. A. Smith[1], 'is their lesson that the remedy for the sordid tempers and cruel hatreds, engendered by the fierce struggle for existence, is found in civic and religious hopes, in a noble ideal for the national life, and in the assurance that God's Love is at the back of all, with nothing impossible to it. Amid these glories, however, the heart will probably thank Zechariah most for his immortal picture of the streets of the new Jerusalem: old men and women sitting in the sun, boys and girls playing in all the open places. The motive of it was found in the circumstances of his own day. Like many another emigration for religion's sake, from the heart of civilization to a barren coast, the poor colony of Jerusalem consisted chiefly of men, young and in middle life. The barren years gave no encouragement to marriage. The constant warfare with neighbouring tribes allowed few to reach grey hairs. It was a rough and a hard society, unblessed by the two great benedictions of life, childhood and old age. But this should all be changed, and Jerusalem filled with placid old men and women, and with joyous boys and girls. . . . What an oracle for these times of ours! Whether in the large cities of the old world where so few of the workers may hope for a quiet old age, sitting in the sun, and the children's days of play are shortened by premature toil and knowledge of evil; or in the newest fringes of the new world, where men's hardness and coarseness are, in the struggle for gold, unawed by reverence for age and unsoftened by the fellowship of childhood—Zechariah's great promise is equally needed. Even there shall it be fulfilled if men will remember his conditions—that the first regard of a community, however straitened in means, be the provision of religion, that truth and whole-hearted justice abound in the gates, with love and loyalty in every heart towards each other.'

[1] *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. pp. 324–5.

ZECHARIAH. i—viii

Part I.

A CALL TO REPENTANCE.

THE PEOPLE ARE URGED TO TAKE WARNING FROM THE RESULT OF THEIR FOREFATHERS' HEEDLESSNESS AND NEGLECT. i. 1–6.

1 In the eighth month [a], in the second year of Darius,
came the word of the Lord unto Zechariah the son of
Berechiah, the son of Iddo [b], the prophet, saying,
2 The Lord hath been sore displeased with your fathers.
3 Therefore say thou unto them [c], Thus saith the Lord
of hosts: Return [d] unto me, saith the Lord of hosts,
and I will return unto you, saith the Lord of hosts.
4 Be ye not as your fathers, unto whom the former pro-
phets [e] cried, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts,
Return ye now from your evil ways [f], and from your
evil doings: but they did not hear, nor hearken unto
5 me, saith the Lord. Your fathers, where are they [g]?
6 and the prophets, do they live for ever? But my
words and my statutes [h], which I commanded my ser-
vants the prophets, did they not overtake [i] your fathers?
and they turned [k] and said, Like as the Lord of
hosts thought to do unto us, according to our ways,
and according to our doings, so hath he dealt with us.

N.B. An obelus (†) *attached to a marginal note shews that the alternative rendering or reading is preferred, or calls attention to some other important point.*

[a] Bul; Oct.–Nov., 520 B.C. [b] See Introd., p. 15.

[c] i.e. the people whose ancestors had suffered exile because they had provoked Jehovah.

[d] 'Like the greatest of his order (Matt. iii. 2) Zechariah appears with the call to repentance. This is the one condition on which God has been able to help man' (G. A. Smith).

[e] i. e. the pre-exilic prophets. Cf. vii. 7–12, where see note.

[f] See Hos. xiv. 2–4; Isa. i. 16–20; Jer. iii. 12–15; Ezek. xxxiii. 11. Cf. 2 Kings xvii. 13.

[g] Ancestors and former prophets may be long dead, but the Word of God which had fulfilled itself in the Jewish Exile would fulfil itself again if the people did not repent. Cf. Isa. xl. 6–8.

[h] Better, 'decrees' determining punishment if they did not repent.

[i] i.e. come upon them as a pursuing vengeance. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 15–45. 'Rarely hath punishment with limping tread parted with the forerunning miscreant' (Horace, *Ode* iii. 9, quoted by Pusey).

[k] But only so far as to recognise the Divine judgement which compelled them to acknowledge Jehovah's power and truth. Cf. Lam. ii. 17.

Part II.

A SERIES OF EIGHT SYMBOLIC VISIONS[a] BROKEN BY AN INTERLUDE (ii. 6–13). i. 7—vi. 8.

1. THE ANGEL SCOUTS IN THE GLEN[b].

(THE TIME IS OPPORTUNE FOR THE FULFILMENT OF JEHOVAH'S PROMISES OF MERCY TO JERUSALEM.) i. 7–17.

Upon the four and twentieth day of the eleventh 7
month[c], which is the month Shebat[d], in the second
year of Darius, came the word of the LORD unto
Zechariah the son of Berechiah, the son of Iddo, the
prophet, saying,

I saw in the night, and behold a man riding upon 8
a red[e] horse, and he stood among the myrtle trees
that were in the [1] bottom[f]; and behind him there
were horses, red, sorrel[g], and white.

† [1] Or, *shady place*

Then said I, O my lord, what are these? 9
And the angel that talked with me[h] said unto me,
I will shew thee what these be.
And the man that stood among the myrtle trees 10
answered and said[i], These are they whom the

[a] 'These are not the narrative of actual dreams, but a series of conscious and artistic allegories—the deliberate translation into a carefully constructed symbolism of the Divine truths with which the prophet was entrusted by God' (G. A. Smith, ii. 274). But see Introd., p. 16.

[b] Ewald thinks that the vision was suggested by the system of courier-posts which Darius had organised throughout his empire (Herod. iii. 126, viii. 98; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* viii. 6, 7); but more probably it was suggested by a rendezvous of Persian cavalry-scouts. Cf. Job i. 7.

[c] Three months since the introductory message (i. 1), four months since Haggai's promise of 'a little while' (Hag. ii. 6. Cf. Jer. xxv. 12).

[d] Feb.–March, 519 B. C. This is the date, apparently, of all the visions.

[e] Perhaps what we call a chestnut horse (so Driver), but as applied to a horse the colour may be purely imaginary. It is used of a red cow in Num xix. 2, of blood-red cheeks, &c. The rider is the leader of the party.

[f] A glen, the shade and herbage of which would be welcome to riders and their horses, perhaps symbolic of Israel, not a stately forest, but with low shrubs fragrant in smell and beautiful in leaf. The myrtle was once common in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (Neh. viii. 15), and is still to be found here and there.

[g] The exact shade of colour intended is, as usual, very uncertain. It was probably a reddish purple. It seems to have given its name to a species of choice vine (Isa. xvi. 8). It is not clear that the colours had any symbolical significance, although some think that they had to do with the various countries which the riders had been patrolling. Cf. vi. 2, 3, 6.

[h] The *angelus interpres*, like Dante's Virgil. Cf. i. 13, 14, 19; ii. 3; iv. 1, 4, 5; v. 10; vi. 4.

[i] The rider of the red horse (ver. 8) explains that these are the scouts of

LORD hath sent to walk to and fro through the earth.

11 And they answered the angel of the LORD that stood among the myrtle trees, and said, We have walked to and fro through the earth, and, behold, all the earth sitteth still, and is at rest [a].

12 Then the angel of the LORD [b] answered and said, O LORD of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years [c]?

13 And the LORD answered the angel that talked with me with good words, *even* comfortable words [d].

14 So the angel that talked with me said unto me, Cry thou, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts: I am jealous [e] for Jerusalem and for Zion with a great jealousy.

15 And I am very sore displeased with the nations that are at ease [f]:

Jehovah's army, who by His orders have made the round of the world and have now returned to render an account of their various patrols.

[a] An apparent respite in the great revolts against Darius which were then taking place and which the Jews hoped would result in bringing in the Messianic Kingdom. So long as the nations continued to prosper Judah felt insecure. But, unlike the earlier prophets, Zechariah does not know by what political movements the hostile world-powers will be overthrown. See notes on Hag. ii. 7, 22.

[b] The angel of Jehovah is here represented as pleading for the people, just as in other cases the prophet himself pleads for the people. Cf. Amos vii. 2, 5; Jer. xiv. 7–9, 19–22.

[c] The number is a round one, and possibly symbolic. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21; Jer. xxv. 11; xxix. 10; where the number is generally explained as dating from the first captivity in 597 B.C. This period to 537, the year of Cyrus's decree, was 60 years. The period here referred to, viz. 586 (the destruction of Jerusalem) to 519, the present year, is 67 years. This passage implies that the rebuilding of the walls had not yet commenced. The decree of Cyrus (Ezra vi. 3–5) required the building of the Temple, but says nothing about the building of the walls, which does not appear to have been carried out till the time of Artaxerxes (Ezra iv. 12, 13), probably after the mission of Ezra. For the words in Ezra v. 3, 9 and 'to finish this wall' which seem to imply that the work of rebuilding the walls was being carried out in the time of Darius, even if genuine (see LXX), cannot refer to the walls of the city, to which no reference is made in the answer of the Jews to the accusations of their enemy.

[d] Lit. 'consolations' (cf. Isa. lvii. 18). The assurances of succour and prosperity are set forth in detail in vv. 14–17. We are not told the manner of Jehovah's intervention, which is as abrupt as in Amos vii. 1–9, &c.

[e] 'Lit. "I have been", not now only but in time past, even when I did not shew it, and am jealous, with the tender love which allows not what it loves to be injured' (Pusey). Cf. viii. 2; Ezek. xxxvi. 5, 6; Isa. xlii. 13.

[f] i.e. in careless security having no anticipation of God's judgements (cf. Amos vi. 1; Isa. xxxii. 9, 11), with possibly the secondary thought of a contemptuous self-complacency (cf. Ps. cxxiii. 4). (See Driver.)

For I was but a little displeased,
† [1] Or, *helped for evil.* And they [1] helped forward the affliction [a].
Therefore thus saith the LORD: 16
I am returned to Jerusalem with mercies;
My house shall be built in it, saith the LORD of hosts,
And a line [b] shall be stretched forth over Jerusalem.
Cry yet again, saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts: 17
† [2] Or, *shall yet overflow with prosperity* My cities [c] [2]through prosperity shall yet be spread abroad;
And the LORD shall yet comfort Zion,
And shall yet choose Jerusalem.

2. THE FOUR HORNS WHICH ARE SMITTEN BY FOUR SMITHS.

(IN EVERY QUARTER ZION'S FOES WILL BE SCATTERED.) i. 18–21.

[Ch. ii. 1 in Heb.] And I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold 18
four horns [d].
And I said unto the angel that talked with me, 19
What be these?
And he answered me, These are the horns which
have scattered [e] Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem [f].
And the LORD shewed me four smiths [g]. 20
Then said I, What come these to do? 21
And he spake, saying,
These are the horns which scattered Judah, so that no man did lift up his head: but these are come to fray [h] them, to cast down the horns of the nations, which lifted up their horn against the land of Judah to scatter it.

[a] i.e. with an evil purpose they punished Israel far more than was necessary to satisfy Jehovah's righteous anger. Cf. Isa. x. 5–7.

[b] i.e. a measuring-line, which will be used in the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Cf. Jer. xxxi. 38–40; Job xxxviii. 5.

[c] Other cities of Judah were inhabited by the Exiles (ver. 12), and to these the promise is extended. Cf. Jer. xxxiii. 13; Neh. xi. 25–36.

[d] Symbolizing aggressive power (cf. 1 Kings xxii. 11; Amos vi. 13; Jer. xlviii. 25). All Israel's foes from the four quarters of the world are probably meant. Cf. ii. 6, vi. 2–6.

[e] Either routed them in battle or taken captive to different lands. See note on ii. 6.

[f] The two kingdoms and the capital, unless the words Israel and Jerusalem are an explanatory gloss. Cf. 21.

[g] Lit. 'workers', viz. in iron; they represent the agencies by which Judah's enemies will be overthrown. Cf. Mic. iv. 13; Isa. xliv. 12; Ezek. xxi. 31.

[h] i.e. to terrify them (see Glossary). Cf. Deut. xxviii. 26.

3. THE BUILDER WITH THE MEASURING LINE STAYED IN HIS WORK.

(THE FUTURE GREATNESS AND GLORY OF JERUSALEM WILL MAKE THE BUILDING OF WALLS UNNECESSARY.) ii. 1–5.

2 And I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and behold a man with a measuring line in his hand. [Ch. ii. 5 in Heb.]

2 Then said I, Whither goest thou?
And he said unto me, To measure Jerusalem, to see what is [a] the breadth thereof, and what is the length thereof.

3 And, behold, the angel that talked with me went forth [b], and another angel went out [b] to meet him,

4 and said [c] unto him, Run, speak to this young man [d], saying,
Jerusalem shall [1] be inhabited as villages without walls, by reason of the multitude of men and cattle therein.

[1] Or, *dwell*

5 For I, saith the LORD, will be unto her a wall of fire [e] round about,
And I will be the glory in the midst of her.

* * * *

A LYRIC INTERLUDE [f]. ii. 6–13.

The Babylonian Exiles are bidden to return because the fall of Babylon is imminent. ii. 6–9.

6 Ho, ho, flee from the land of the north [g],
Saith the LORD:

[a] Rather, 'what should be'; the rebuilding of the walls was not yet undertaken. See Ezra iv. 12, and note on i. 12.

[b] The words 'went forth' and 'went out' are the same in the Hebrew. It probably means that they enter from the two sides of the stage of vision.

[c] The speaker is not defined, but is probably 'the angel that talked with me'.

[d] The man with the measuring-line, whom he now sees to be but a youth. He is bidden to stop his useless work, Jerusalem with its overflowing population (cf. Isa. xxxiii. 17; xlix. 19, 20; liv. 2) is to extend into a group of peaceful villages (cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 11) and will need no walls (cf. Isa. xxvi. 1; lx. 18). See Introd., p. 16.

[e] Cf. 1 Sam. xxv. 16. Here, however, the simile is probably rather that of watch-fires to scare wild beasts from nightly encampments.

[f] This passage, which in many respects resembles the lyric odes in Isa. xl–lxvi (cf. esp. xlviii. 20, 21; lxii. 10–12), and apparently deals with the Return after the conquest of Babylon, 539 B.C., was probably written about that time (but see next note). In any case it is probably Zechariah's own work or was at least revised by him. The double 'saith Jehovah' is very characteristic of him (cf. i. 3), as also the concluding sentence of ver. 9, where see note.

[g] Babylonia. Cf. Jer. iii. 12, 18; xxiii. 8. See note on Jer. xv. 12. It is

For I have spread you abroad [a] as the four winds of the heaven,
Saith the LORD.

Ho Zion [b], escape, thou that dwellest with the daughter [c] of Babylon. 7

For thus saith the LORD of hosts: 8
[1] After glory [d] hath he sent me [e] unto the nations which spoiled you:
For he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye [f].

For, behold, I will shake [g] mine hand over them, 9
And they shall be a spoil to those that served them:
And ye shall know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me [h].

[1] Or, *After the glory, he hath &c.*

Zion, indwelt by Jehovah, will be the centre of a world-wide dominion. ii. 10–13.

Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion: 10
For, lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee [i],
Saith the LORD.

possible that the reference is to the second conquest of Babylon under Darius Hystaspes who, it was thought by Zechariah, would carry out the incompleted vengeance of Cyrus. See Introd., p. 15.

[a] It is better to read, with LXX, 'I will gather you from the four winds', &c. Cf. vi. 5; Jer. xlix. 36; Dan. viii. 8; xi. 4; Matt. xxiv. 31.

[b] Zion is here the nation personified as a woman, but perhaps we should read, with LXX, 'escape unto Zion'.

[c] Here put poetically for the city, as frequently. Cf. Ps. ix. 14; cxxxvii. 8, 9, where the city (daughter) is distinguished from the inhabitants (children).

[d] i. e. to gain glory over the heathen by bringing judgement upon them for their conduct towards Israel. Cf. Ezek. xxviii. 22; xxxix. 13. 'To display the glory of God upon the heathen through the judgement by which their power is broken, and the heathen world is made to serve God' (Keil).

[e] i. e. the prophet, see note on 9b. This is an extreme case of a prophet, or other messenger of Jehovah, being regarded as by his predictions himself executing the sentence which he predicts (see notes on Hos. vi. 5; Jer. xiv. 14; xxiii. 29). But if the passage has been revised by Zechariah from an older source, the person may be Cyrus or some unknown instrument of Jehovah's vengeance on the nations.

[f] i. e. something exceedingly precious to Jehovah, and which required tender care. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 10; Ps. xvii. 8.

[g] 'Swing' (Driver), as a gesture of menace or a symbol of miraculous power over the nations. See Isa. xi. 15; xix. 16; cf. Isa. x. 32; Job xxxi. 21.

[h] This conclusion, which occurs four times (cf. ii. 11; iv. 9; vi. 15), seems to betray 'a wistful anxiety about his reception as a prophet' (G. A. Smith).

[i] i. e. when the Temple is restored. Cf. Ezek. xliii. 9; Rev. vii. 15; xxi. 3, 22–26. It was consecrated probably by Zerubbabel in 516 B. C. See Ezra vi. 15–18.

11 And many nations shall join themselves to the
LORD in that day,
And shall be my people[a]:
And I will dwell in the midst of thee,
And thou shalt know that the LORD of hosts hath
sent me unto thee.

12 And the LORD shall inherit Judah as his portion
in the holy land,
And shall yet choose Jerusalem.

13 Be silent, all flesh, before the LORD:
For he is waked up out of his holy habitation[b].

* * * *

4. THE ACQUITTAL AND HONOUR OF THE HIGH PRIEST IS FOLLOWED BY THE BRINGING FORTH OF THE BRANCH[c].

(*THE PURIFICATION AND GLORY OF A PURIFIED AND FORGIVEN PEOPLE IS A PRELUDE TO THE ADVENT OF THE MESSIAH.*) iii.

3 And he[d] shewed me Joshua the high priest stand-
ing before[e] the angel of the LORD, and [1] Satan[f]

[1] That is, *the Adversary.*†

[a] Cf. viii. 22; Isa. ii. 3; xviii. 7; xix. 18–25; Jer. xvi. 19.

[b] i. e. heaven (Deut. xxvi. 15; 2 Chron. xxx. 27; Jer. xxv. 30). Jehovah has awaked out of the apparent slumber of disregard for His people; let them stand in silent awe at His presence. Cf. Zeph. i. 7; Hab. ii. 20.

[c] The interpretation of this vision is very difficult and by no means certain. The older interpreters assumed that it referred to some personal calumny brought against Joshua of which he is acquitted by Jehovah. On his promise to perform his office faithfully the reinstated priest is set over the Temple and its services and becomes the pledge for the rule of the Messiah, who is probably in the prophet's view identified with Zerubbabel. What the charge against Joshua was we do not know, but Rashi suggested that it was connected with the marriage of his sons to heathen wives (see Ezra x. 18). Most modern interpreters, however, suppose that Joshua is here represented as bearing the sins of the people. The change from the filthy garments means, according to this view, that their sins are pardoned and that Jehovah will grant them prosperity. At the same time the now honoured Priesthood or Priestly nation will usher in the reign of Messiah.

[d] Probably the angel interpreter. See note on i. 9.

[e] 'To stand before' is used in two different connexions in the vision: (1) of accusers and accused before their judge in vv. 1 and 3 (cf. Deut. xix. 17; Rom. xiv. 10; Rev. xx. 12); (2) of servants in the presence of their master in ver. 4 (cf. Deut. i. 38). See note on iv. 14.

[f] 'the adversary' (see margin) is here possibly little more than the personification of the people's evil conscience and of their fear that their unhappy condition is owing to their sins, on account of which God's favour was being withheld. But there is certainly some approach to the later conception of Satan as

standing at his right hand [a] to be his adversary [b].
And the LORD said unto Satan, 2
The LORD rebuke thee, O Satan;
Yea, the LORD that hath chosen [c] Jerusalem rebuke thee:
Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire [d]?
Now Joshua was clothed with filthy garments [e], and 3
stood before the angel.
And he answered and spake unto those that stood 4
before him [f], saying,
Take the filthy garments from off him.
And unto him he said,
Behold, I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee,
And I will clothe thee with rich apparel.
† [1] According to some ancient authorities, *he said.*
† [2] Or, *turban*
Or, *diadem*
And [1] I said [g], 5
Let them set a fair [2] mitre [h] upon his head.
So they set a fair [2] mitre upon his head, and clothed him with garments; and the angel of the LORD stood [i] by.
And the angel of the LORD protested [k] unto Joshua, 6
saying, Thus saith the LORD of hosts: 7
If thou wilt walk in my ways, and if thou wilt keep my charge [l], then thou also shalt judge my house [m], and shalt also keep my courts [n], and

perhaps the recording angel of their misdeeds. Yet he appears not so much as a demon but as possibly one of the servants of Jehovah (cf. Job i. 6–12).

[a] The Jewish position of an accuser in court. Cf. Ps. cix. 6.

[b] A cognate verb to Satan above, as we might say 'the opposer standing . . . to oppose him.'

[c] Better, 'that chooseth' in a practically future sense. Cf. i. 17; ii. 12. As Jehovah was about once more to choose Jerusalem (cf. 1 Kings viii. 44; xi. 13), He would rebuke any ill-treatment of His Priest or the people whom he represented.

[d] i. e. just rescued from complete destruction. Cf. Amos iv. 11; 1 Cor. iii. 15.

[e] Symbolizing sin. Cf. Isa. iv. 4; Prov. xxx. 12; Rev. iii. 4, 5; vii. 14; xix. 8.

[f] His attendant angels. See note [f] on ver. 1. Cf. Deut. i. 38; 1 Sam. xvi. 21; 1 Kings x. 8; Dan. i. 5.

[g] See margin. The sympathetic intervention of the prophet is quite intelligible, but the third person seems more natural.

[h] Better, 'a clean turban'. Cf. Job xxix. 14; Isa. iii. 23.

[i] Rather, 'was standing'. He had risen from the judgement seat in sympathy with Joshua. Cf. Acts vii. 55–56.

[k] i. e. solemnly and earnestly charged. Cf. Gen. xliii. 3; Jer. xi. 7.

[l] Used liturgically. Cf. Ezek. xliv. 15; xlviii. 11.

[m] i. e. have supreme rule over the Temple.

[n] i.e. order the Temple services. The office of High Priest in the Levitical sense did not exist before the Exile. Even in the Code of Holiness he is merely *primus inter pares* (Lev. xxi. 10).

I will give thee [1] a place of access among these that stand by [a].

[1] Or, *places to walk*

8 Hear now, O Joshua the high priest,
Thou and thy fellows that sit before thee [b];
For they are men which are a [2] sign [c]:
For, behold, I will bring forth my servant the [3] Branch [d].

[2] Or, *wonder*
[3] Or, *Shoot* Or, *Sprout* †

9 For behold, the stone [e] that I have set before Joshua;
Upon one stone are seven eyes:
Behold, I will engrave the graving thereof, saith the LORD of hosts,
And I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day [f].

10 In that day, saith the LORD of hosts,
Shall ye call [g] every man his neighbour
Under the vine and under the fig tree.

[a] Lit. 'places to walk among those who stand', i. e. the power of approach to God as priestly intercessor among the attendant angels (see ver. 4).

[b] i.e. the inferior priests who received their directions from him. Cf. 2 Kings iv. 38; vi. 1.

[c] The reinstated priesthood is an omen of the coming kingdom. Many scholars, omitting the first 'for', render 'thou and thy fellows that sit before thee are a portent (to shew) that I am bringing forth My servant', &c. Cf. Isa. viii. 18.

[d] i. e. the righteous shoot of Jer. xxiii. 5 and xxxiii. 15 (cf. Isa. xi. 1, where a different word, however, is used), Israel's future ideal King, who is to spring from the nearly extinct stock of David. By comparing vi. 12 with iv. 9 we see that Zerubbabel is probably in Zechariah's mind (see note on Hag. ii. 23). Stade and others suspect that the words are a later interpolation. Stade, however, says, 'If the supreme Persian power heard of the hopes attaching to the Persian governor Zerubbabel, we cannot wonder that it did not accommodate itself to the rôle of a tree undergoing the embrace of ivy.' (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii. 127). It has generally been thought that Zerubbabel came to a violent end, and some even suppose him to be the martyr referred to in Isa. liii. In any case, after the foundation of the Temple he disappears suddenly from history, and lives only in legend, the apocryphal book of Esdras giving his story.

[e] Either (1) the symbol for the whole finished Temple or its coping-stone (iv. 7), which is lying, in vision, before Joshua and upon which Jehovah's all-watchful providence (see iv. 10) rests, and some token perhaps of forgiven sin is engraved; or (2) a jewel in the diadem of the Messiah with seven facets, upon one of which (probably the central) the name of the Messiah will be engraved. The first would shew Jehovah's care for the completion of the Temple, the latter that the crown of the Messiah is now ready.

[f] i. e. suddenly. Cf. Isa. ix. 14; x. 17. The removal of iniquity was always one of the chief characteristics of the Messianic kingdom. Cf. Isa. i. 25, 26; iv. 3, 4; xxxiii. 24; Jer. xxxi. 33, 34; Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 26.

[g] i. e. invite. A time of general felicity, another trait of the Messianic age, taken perhaps from Mic. iv. 4; cf. 1 Kings iv. 25.

5. THE GOLDEN LAMPSTAND AND TWO OLIVE TREES.

(*THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE OF JEHOVAH ASSISTED BY THE PRINCE AND THE PRIEST.*)

iv.

The vision itself, and its interpretation.

iv. 1–6 a, 10 b–14.[a]

4 And the angel that talked with me came again, and waked[b] me, as a man that is wakened out of his sleep.

2 And he said unto me, What seest thou?

And I said, I have seen, and behold, a candlestick[c] all of gold, with its bowl[d] upon the top of it, and its seven lamps thereon; [2] there are seven pipes to each of the lamps[e], which are upon the top thereof: and two olive trees[f] by it, one upon the 3 right side of the bowl, and the other upon the left side thereof.

† [1] The Sept. and Vulgate have, *and seven pipes to the lamps.*

4 And I answered and spake to the angel that talked with me, saying, What are these, my lord?

5 Then the angel that talked with me answered and said unto me, Knowest thou not what these be?

And I said, No, my lord.

6a Then[g] he answered and spake unto me, saying,

[a] On the order of these verses see note on ver. 6.

[b] From the ecstatic stupor into which he assumes himself to have fallen after the preceding vision. He still assumes himself, however, as remaining in the prophetic trance.

[c] In Solomon's Temple there were ten lampstands, five on the north and five on the south of the Holy Place (see 1 Kings vii. 49; Jer. lii. 19). But in Zerubbabel's Temple, to which the ordinances of the Tabernacle in the Priestly Code probably refer, there was only one which was placed on the south side, opposite the Table of Shewbread (Exod. xxv. 31–40; xxxvii. 17–24; xl. 24). There was only one also in the restored Temple of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. iv. 49, 50), the representation of which is still to be seen on the celebrated arch of Titus in Rome.

[d] A reservoir of oil, from which a pipe flowed to each lamp (see note on ver. 3), so that no human agency was wanted to replenish its oil (see ver. 6b).

[e] The LXX, Vulgate, and A.V. rendering is a literal translation of the Hebrew, which clearly means that there was one pipe, not seven, to each lamp.

[f] Symbolizing the perennial and inexhaustible supply of oil. Here again human agency is dispensed with (see ver. 6b). The olives become oil without man's work.

[g] Verses 6b–10a obviously interfere with the narrative of the vision, the question of ver. 4 being not answered in ver. 6 but in ver. 10. Most modern scholars, following Wellhausen's brilliant conjecture, place vv. 10b–14 after 6a, translating quite naturally thus: 'Then he answered and spake unto me, saying, These seven, they are the eyes of Jehovah, which run to and fro'. The question concerning the olive tree in ver. 11 follows much more naturally, while the promise

10b Even these seven [a], *which are* the eyes of the LORD;
They run to and fro through the whole earth.
11 Then answered I, and said unto him, What are
these two olive trees upon the right side of the
candlestick and upon the left side thereof?
12 And I answered [b] the second time, and said unto him,
What be these two olive branches [c], [1] which are
beside the two golden spouts, that empty [2] the
golden *oil* out of themselves [d]?
13 And he answered me and said, Knowest thou not
what these be?
And I said, No, my lord.
14 Then said he, These are the two sons of oil [e], that
stand by [f] the Lord of the whole earth.

[1] Or, *which by means of the two golden spouts empty*
[2] Heb. *the gold.*

Zerubbabel is assured of success, in spite of obstacles and faint-heartedness. iv. 6b–10a.

6b This is the word of the LORD unto Zerubbabel [g],
saying,

to Zerubbabel beginning in ver. 6b, 'This is the word', would then form a fitting close to the chapter and corresponds to the word of hope to Joshua at the end of the preceding vision.

[a] See note on vers. 2, 6a, and Introd., p. 17. The seven lamps symbolize the ever-watchful eyes of Providence which will detect danger in any quarter (2 Chron. xvi. 9).

[b] This verse has the appearance of a doublet of ver. 11. (For similar doublets cf. Ezek. xxxii. 17–32.) Apart from the peculiar use of the word 'gold', due probably to a corruption of the text at the end of the verse, there are two new words—'branches' and 'sprout'—not mentioned before. It was probably originally a marginal paraphrase introduced for exegetical purposes. But it is difficult to reconcile it with the interpretation in 10b. If the lamps represent the Divine Providence or presence, how could they be dependent for their lustre on human agents? If ver. 12 is omitted, the two olive trees stand in the presence of Jehovah as His two great ministers (see Driver). It must be admitted, however, that the seven pipes of ver. 2 are thus left unaccounted for.

[c] i.e. fruit-laden boughs, a term elsewhere applied to ears of corn.

[d] Some words seem to have dropped out. We should perhaps read 'that empty themselves into the golden pipes', to which LXX seems to point. Driver suggests that we should read 'that empty out of themselves [the oil into] the [bowl of] gold'.

[e] A common Hebraism. Cf. 'sons of Belial', Deut. xiii. 13; Judges xix. 22, &c.; 'daughter of the horseleach (or vampire)', Prov. xxx. 15; 'a son of wickedness', Ps. lxxxix. 22; 'children of wisdom', Luke vii. 35. An evident allusion to Joshua and Zerubbabel, who were not only anointed with oil, but are here represented, it would seem, as the two great channels of Divine grace (but see note on ver. 12). The real work of rebuilding the Temple was done by men fired by the zeal of Joshua and Zerubbabel and themselves inspired by Jehovah. 'The Temple is nothing without the monarch and priest behind it, and these stand in the presence of God, the essential mediators of the whole system' (G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 534).

[f] Shewing that they are Jehovah's servants. Cf. Judges iii. 19; 1 Kings xxii. 19; and see note on iii. 1.

[g] See note on Hag. i. 1.

[1] Or, *an army*

Not by [1] might [a], nor by power, but by my spirit,
saith the LORD of hosts.
Who art thou, O great mountain? 7
Before Zerubbabel *thou shalt become* a plain [b]:
And he shall bring forth the head stone [c]
With shoutings of Grace, grace, unto it [d].

Moreover the word of the LORD came unto me, 8
saying,
The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the founda- 9
tion of this house [e];
His hands shall also finish it;
And thou shalt know that the LORD of hosts hath
sent me unto you.

For who hath despised the day of small things [f]? 10
For they shall rejoice, and shall see the plummet
in the hand of Zerubbabel.

6. THE FLYING ROLL.

(SWIFT JUDGEMENT WILL EXTERMINATE SINNERS, WHETHER AGAINST MAN OR AGAINST GOD.) v. 1–4.

Then again I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and be- **5**
hold, a flying roll [g].
And he said unto me, What seest thou? 2
And I answered, I see a flying roll; the length
thereof is twenty cubits, and the breadth thereof
ten cubits [h].

[a] The work of rebuilding the Temple could not be accomplished by mere human effort or strength, but by the spirit of Jehovah. Cf. Hag. ii. 4–5.

[b] However great the obstacle (cf. Isa. xl. 4; Matt. xvii. 20; Mark xi. 23; 1 Cor. xiii. 2), it would be surmounted.

[c] The final coping-stone when it was dressed. Cf. Ps. cxviii. 22; Luke xx. 17–18.

[d] These last words express the applause of the people; lit. 'Grace to it', which may be either a statement, 'It is beautiful, beautiful', or a prayer, 'May it have grace', i.e. 'God bless it!'

[e] See note on Hag. ii. 18, and Hag. Introd., p. 2.

[f] i.e. no one who expects to do great things despises small beginnings. Such as did doubt would now see with pleasure Zerubbabel testing the finished building with the plumbline.

[g] Rolls were of skin or parchment, and were used for writing upon, generally on one side only but sometimes on both (Ezek. ii. 10). They were rolled up as a modern wall-map. This flying roll is evidently meant to represent the record of the crime of the people pursuing the wicked over the face of the earth and destroying them and their houses. It is a striking illustration of the familiar Jewish thought that sin brings its own punishment. Cf. Isa. v. 18, &c.

[h] If open, as it obviously was, it would be a large oblong sheet about 30 by 15 feet. The dimensions were those of the Holy Place of the Tabernacle, but this is probably merely a coincidence.

3 Then said he unto me,
This is the curse [a] that goeth forth over the face
of the whole land [b]:
For every one that stealeth shall be purged out
[1] on the one side according to it;
And every one that sweareth shall be purged out [c]
on the other side according to it.
4 I will cause it to go forth, saith the LORD of hosts,
And it shall enter into the house of the thief,
And into the house of him that sweareth falsely
by my name:
And it shall abide [d] in the midst of his house,
And shall consume it with the timber thereof
And the stones thereof [e].

[1] Or, *from hence*

7. THE WOMAN ENCLOSED IN THE EPHAH.

(*WICKEDNESS IS TO BE UTTERLY BANISHED TO AN EVIL LAND.*) v. 5–11.

5 Then the angel that talked with me went forth [f],
and said unto me,
Lift up now thine eyes, and see what is this that
goeth forth.
6 And I said, What is it?
And he said, This is the ephah [g] that goeth forth.

[a] The prophet probably assumes that it was inscribed with curses against sins of all kinds, theft, perjury, &c.

[b] i. e. probably Palestine, not the earth as in A.V.

[c] This translation is doubtful, the word generally meaning 'be guiltless', as in Ps. xix. 13; Num. v. 31. Nowack and others therefore by a slight alteration render: 'For how long hath every one that stealeth been unpunished! and how long hath every one that sweareth (falsely) been unpunished!' i. e. crime has hitherto been practised with impunity; henceforth that will no longer be the case (see Driver).

[d] Lit. 'stay the night'. Cf. Zeph. ii. 14.

[e] A probably not uncommon form of punishment in the East (cf. Dan. ii. 5; iii. 29). Smend (referred to by Driver) suggests that there may have been an ancient custom of writing curses on small pieces of paper, and committing them to the wind for it to blow them upon the houses of those for whom they were meant. On the self-inflicted vengeance of a false oath there is an interesting parallel in Herodotus. A thief having consulted the oracle at Delphi as to whether he might perjure himself in order to retain his stolen money, the priestess answered that as death was the common lot of all whether he keeps his oath or no, he might. 'Yet', she added, 'Oath hath a son, nameless, handless, footless, but swift he pursues, until he seize and destroy the whole race and house' (vi. 86).

[f] See note on ii. 3.

[g] A measure like a barrel holding about seven gallons, perhaps a symbol of dishonest trade (see next note). Cf. Amos viii. 5; Mic. vi. 10.

He said moreover, This is their [1] resemblance [a] in all the land:

(And behold, there was lifted up a [2] talent of lead [b]:) 7
And this is a woman sitting in the midst of the ephah.

And he said, This is Wickedness [c]: 8
And he cast her down into the midst of the ephah: and he cast the weight of lead upon the mouth thereof.

Then lifted I up mine eyes, and saw, and behold, 9
there came forth two women [d], and the wind was in their wings [e]; now they had wings like the wings of a stork: and they lifted up the ephah between the earth and the heaven.

Then said I to the angel that talked with me, 10
Whither do these bear the ephah?

And he said unto me, To build her an house in the 11
land of Shinar [f]: and when it is [3] prepared, she [g] shall be set there [4] in her own place.

[1] Heb. *eye.* † According to some ancient authorities, *iniquity.*
† [2] Or, *round piece*
[3] Or, *established*
† [4] Or, *upon her own base*

8. THE FOUR CHARIOTS FROM THE MOUNTAINS OF BRASS.

(*GOD WILL SEND FORTH INSTRUMENTS OF JUDGEMENT ON THE NATIONS, ESPECIALLY ON BABYLON, TO AVENGE HIS SUFFERING PEOPLE.*) vi. 1–8.

And again I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and 6
behold, there came four chariots [h] out from be-

[a] Better, 'iniquity' (as margin). The measure of their iniquity was now full. Matt. xxiii. 32; 1 Thess. ii. 16.

[b] A round plate which, from its shape, gave the name to the talent. This proved to be the cover of the ephah.

[c] Woman—full-grown, seductive, prolific—personified the wickedness of the whole land. She apparently tries to get out of the ephah, but it is thrust back and the heavy lid keeps her in.

[d] The two women act as agents of Jehovah. It is interesting to notice that both sin and its removal are typified by women.

[e] They flew with, instead of struggling against, the wind. It has been thought that the *lilith* (night-monster, Isa. xxxiv. 14), a female demon of popular superstition, analogous to the vampire of Prov. xxx. 15, may have been in the prophet's mind.

[f] i.e. Babylonia. Gen. x. 10; xi. 2; Isa. xi. 11; Dan. i. 2. Here the typical place for evil, as Zion is for blessing. By this vision Zechariah shews that 'he is not contented with the ritual atonement for sin, nor with the legal punishment of crime. The living power of sin must be banished . . . . and this can be banished only by God' (G. A. Smith).

[g] Rather, 'it', i.e. the ephah. When the house in Babylonia has been built, the ephah will be placed therein upon its stand or base, and this shall be its home for the future.

[h] This last vision is in some respects the opposite of the first (i. 7–17).

tween [1] two mountains; and the mountains were
2 mountains of brass [a]. In the first chariot were
red horses; and in the second chariot black
3 horses; and in the third chariot white horses;
and in the fourth chariot grisled [b] [2] bay [c] horses.
4 Then I answered and said unto the angel that
talked with me, What are these, my lord?
5 And the angel answered and said unto me, These
are the four [3] winds of heaven, which go forth
from [4] standing before the Lord [d] of all the earth.
6 *The chariot* wherein are the black horses goeth
forth toward the north country [e]; and the white
went forth after them [f]; and the grisled [g] went
forth toward the south country [h].
7 And the [4] bay [i] went forth, and sought to go that
they might walk to and fro [k] through the earth:
And he said, Get you hence, walk to and fro through
the earth.
So they walked to and fro through the earth.
8 Then cried he upon me, and spake unto me, saying,
Behold, they that go toward the north country
Have quieted my spirit [l] in the north country.

[1] Or, *the two* †
[2] Or, *strong* † The word is omitted in the Syriac.
[3] Or, *spirits*
[4] Or, *presenting themselves*
[5] Or, *strong* † The Syriac and Aquila have, *red.*

There messengers of mercy come with tidings of peace in all quarters; here messengers go forth to execute Jehovah's judgements in all quarters.

[a] Rather of bronze or copper. This probably has no symbolic meaning, but the definite article (see margin) has suggested to some that the reference is to a known place, perhaps the land of Nuhassi (the copper-land) which Halèvy has identified with Zobah on the east of the Lebanon range (2 Sam. viii. 5–8). See *Encycl. Bibl.*, i. 894. But the article may merely mean the two mountains then visible before my eyes. Cf. the ephah in v. 6.

[b] See Glossary. But it should rather be translated 'spotted'.

[c] See note on verse 7.

[d] By adding one letter Wellhausen and others read 'These (i.e. the chariots and horses) go forth (towards) the four winds of heaven, after they have presented themselves before the Lord'. Dan. xi. 4. See note on ii. 6.

[e] i.e. Babylonia. See note on ii. 6.

[f] This, if an accurate reading, would mean that a double doom awaited Babylon. But some think that 'after them' is a corruption for 'to the east country'.

[g] See note on verse 3.

[h] i.e. Egypt, which after the battle of Pelusium, 527 B.C., became part of the Persian Empire.

[i] As according to the Hebrew text the 'grisled bay' is a description of one set of horses in verse 3, and the same words describe two distinct sets in verses 6 and 7, where there is no mention of the red, it is clear that the Syriac is right in reading 'red' for 'bay' here, and probably in omitting the word 'bay' in verse 3, where the correct rendering 'strong' is very meaningless. Some have further conjectured that the original text had 'the red went forth towards the west country; and they (i.e. all the horses) sought to go', i.e. were impatient to start on their mission.

[k] Cf. i. 10, 11.

[l] i.e. 'have appeased my anger by stirring up trouble'. Cf. Judges viii. 3;

Part III.

A SYMBOLIC ACTION. THE CROWNING OF [ZERUBBABEL AND][a] JOSHUA. vi. 9–15.

And the word of the LORD came unto me [b], saying, 9
Take of them of the captivity [c], even of Heldai, 10
of Tobijah, and of Jedaiah; and come thou the same day, and go into the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah, whither they are come from Babylon; yea, take *of them* silver and gold, and make 11
[1] crowns [d], and set them upon the head of Joshua [e] the son of Jehozadak, the high priest; and speak unto him, saying,

[1] Or, *a crown, and set it*

Thus speaketh the LORD of hosts, saying, 12
Behold, the man [2] whose name is the [3] Branch [f];
And he shall [4] grow up out of his place [g],
And he shall build the temple of the LORD:
Even he shall build the temple of the LORD; 13
And he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne;

[2] Or, *whose name is the Bud; and it* (or *they*) *shall bud forth under him*
† [3] Or, *Shoot* Or, *Sprout*
† [4] Or, *shoot*

Eccles. x. 4; Ezek. v. 13. The historical situation supports this interpretation. 'Even while Cambyses was yet alive (in 522 B.C.) the magician Gaumâta, who pretended to be Smerdis, the brother of Cambyses, had been proclaimed king. Cambyses died of an accidental wound on his way to fight Gaumâta. The latter was in turn slain by Darius, who ascended the Persian throne in 521 B.C. Immediately revolts broke out in all parts of the empire, which were not subdued finally till 514' (Dummelow, *One Vol. Commentary*, p. 605).

[a] See note [e].

[b] There is no indication as to time in these words—'the same day' of verse 10 refers to the time when the action is to take place, and is therefore indefinite. The subject-matter and form of the prophecy are both very different from the preceding visions.

[c] The word Gôlah is a collective term either for the Jews in Jerusalem and their descendants after the Return from the Exile (Ezra ix. 4; x. 8) or for those who were still in Babylon (Ezek. i. 1; iii. 11, 15). It is these latter who had presumably sent a deputation with silver and gold for the work of restoration. The prophet is to meet them the same day in the house of Josiah, and to select sufficient gold, &c., to make a crown (or two crowns).

[d] The singular of this word is common, and is used in the various senses of chaplet, a wedding crown, and a royal diadem (Isa. xxviii. 1; Cant. iii. 11; Ps. xxi. 3). It is therefore far more likely that two crowns were here intended. See next note.

[e] There is strong reason to believe either that the single crown (see margin) was meant for Zerubbabel, and that at a later time, when the High Priest was also king, Joshua's name was substituted, or, as seems more probable, that it was intended that crowns (see previous note) were designed both for Zerubbabel and Joshua. In which case we must suppose that the words 'the head of Zerubbabel and' before Joshua have been accidentally omitted.

[f] See note on iii. 8.

[g] Not an exotic but a sprout shooting out of the stump of the felled tree. So the Messiah would rise from a place of obscurity to glory and honour. Jer. xxiii. 5. Cf. Isa. xi. 1; liii. 2; and see note on iii. 8.

And [1] he shall be a priest [a] upon his throne:
And the counsel of peace shall be between them both.

[1] Or, *there shall be* †

14 And the [2] crowns shall be to Helem, and to Tobijah, and to Jedaiah, and [3] to Hen the son of Zephaniah, for a memorial in the temple of the LORD.

[2] Or, *crown*
[3] Or, *for the kindness of the son &c.*

15 And they that are far off [b] shall come and build in the temple of the LORD,
And ye shall know that the LORD of hosts hath sent me unto you.
And *this* [c] shall come to pass, if ye will diligently obey the voice of the LORD your God. . . .

Part IV.

ANSWER TO A DEPUTATION FROM BETHEL [d] (?). vii–viii.

THE DEPUTATION ASKS WHETHER THE PEOPLE SHOULD STILL MAINTAIN THE FASTS INSTITUTED DURING THE EXILE. vii. 1–3.

7 And it came to pass in the fourth year of king Darius, that the word of the LORD came unto Zechariah in the fourth *day* of the ninth month, even in Chislev [e].

2 [4] Now *they of* Beth-el [f] had sent Sharezer and Regem-
melech, and their men, to intreat the favour [g] of the
3 LORD, *and* to speak unto the priests of the house of the LORD of hosts, and to the prophets, saying, Should

[4] Or, *Now they of Beth-el, even Sharezer . . . had sent*

[a] i.e. Joshua (see margin); the meaning being that the offices would be harmonious and almost equal in rank.

[b] i.e. Jews of the Dispersion and perhaps Gentiles (Isa. lx. 10; lxi. 4, 5; Hag. ii. 7).

[c] Better, 'And it shall come to pass, that if ye will', &c. Cf. Deut. xi. 13; xxviii. 1; Jer. xvii. 24. The promise which followed has evidently been lost, as the sentence in the Hebrew is not finished.

[d] See note [f].

[e] Nov.–Dec., 518 B.C., nearly two years after the visions (i. 7), and rather more than two years before the completion of the Temple (Ezra vi. 15).

[f] There is much difficulty in the text as it stands. It has been suggested that Sharezer is a defective name, requiring the name or title of deity. Wellhausen and Marti therefore propose to read Bel for Beth-el ('Bel-Sharezer and Regem-melech sent'), Assyrian and Babylonian names constantly being compounded with the names of their gods. Cf. the large number of names beginning with Bel and Nebo.

[g] Lit. 'to stroke the face of', i.e. 'to smooth from the frown of displeasure'; so to propitiate.

I weep in the fifth month[a], separating myself[b], as I have done these so many years[c]?

THE PROPHET'S REPLY. vii. 4-viii. 23.

(1) *THE SPIRIT OF THE EXILIC FASTS WAS AFTER ALL A PURELY SELFISH ONE.* vii. 4-6.

Then came the word of the LORD of hosts unto 4
me, saying, Speak unto all the people of the land, 5
and to the priests, saying,
When ye fasted and mourned[d] in the fifth and in
the seventh *month*[e], even these seventy years,
did ye at all fast unto me, even to me? And 6
when ye eat, and when ye drink, [1] do not ye eat
for yourselves, and drink for yourselves[f]?

[1] Or, *are not ye they that eat &c.*

(2) *FAR BETTER WOULD IT BE TO LEARN THE MORAL LESSONS OF THE OLDER PROPHETS, THE NEGLECT OF WHICH HAD BROUGHT ABOUT THE VERY DISASTERS WHICH THEIR FASTS COMMEMORATED.* vii. 7-14.

Should ye not *hear* the words[g] which the LORD 7
hath cried by the former prophets[h], when Jerusalem was inhabited and in prosperity, and the cities thereof round about her, and the South and the lowland[i] were inhabited?

And the word of the LORD came unto Zechariah, saying, 8
Thus hath the LORD of hosts spoken, saying[k], 9

[a] See note on viii. 19.

[b] i.e. abstaining from food and wine. See Lev. xxii. 2.

[c] i.e. since the burning of the Temple by Nebuchadrezzar, when this fast was appointed.

[d] Lit. wailed, as the Jews may be seen to this day at the Jews' Wailing Place at the western wall of the Temple area in Jerusalem.

[e] See note on viii. 19, where the four fasts of the Exile are referred to.

[f] The reverse of this statement in case of Christians is used by St. Paul to support with equal justice a somewhat similar conclusion (Rom. xiv. 6-8). According to Zechariah, both fasting and not fasting were indifferent to God, because they were practised in a selfish spirit without reference to Him. Cf. Isa. lviii. 3-5. According to St. Paul, the abstinence or not from certain food was of little importance with those to whom both were done from motives of His honour.

[g] We should probably read, with LXX, 'Are not these the words'. Many scholars have adopted what Dr. Driver calls Wellhausen's illuminative suggestion to omit verse 8, as the gloss of a scribe who did not notice that verses 9 b, 10 contained Jehovah's teaching by the former prophets. We then get 'Are not these the words which Jehovah hath cried . . . were inhabited? Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Execute ye', &c.

[h] e.g. Amos v. 21-24; Hos. vi. 6; Isa. i. 10-20; Mic. vi. 6-8; Jer. v. 21-23; Isa. lviii. 6-12, &c.

[i] The Negeb and the Shephelah. See note on Obad. 19-21.

[k] See note on verse 7.

Execute true judgement, and shew mercy and
compassion every man to his brother:
10 And oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless,
the stranger, nor the poor;
And let none of you imagine evil against his
brother in your heart.
11 But they refused to hearken, and [1] pulled away the
shoulder [a], and [2] stopped their ears, that they
12 should not hear. Yea, they made their hearts
as an adamant stone [b], lest they should hear
the law [c], and the words which the LORD of hosts
had sent by his spirit by the hand of the former
prophets [d]: therefore came there great wrath from
13 the LORD of hosts. And it came to pass that,
as he cried, and they would not hear; so they
shall cry [e], and I will not hear, said the LORD of
14 hosts; but I will scatter [f] them with a whirlwind
among all the nations whom they have not
known. Thus the land was desolate after them,
that no man passed through nor returned: for
they laid the [3] pleasant land desolate.

[1] Or, *turned a stubborn shoulder* †
[2] Or, *made their ears heavy* See Isa. vi. 10.
[3] Heb. *land of desire.*

(3) *THE TIME OF SORROWING WOULD BE TURNED INTO ONE OF JOY AND GLADNESS, AS JEHOVAH'S TEN WORDS OF PROMISE WERE FULLY REALISED* [g]. viii.

1. *Jehovah's jealous love for His people.* viii. 1–2.

8 And the word of the LORD of hosts came *to me*, saying,
2 Thus saith the LORD of hosts:
I am jealous for Zion with great jealousy,
And I am jealous for her with great fury.

[a] As an animal that refuses to yield its neck for the yoke. See Neh. ix. 29. Cf. Hos. iv. 16.

[b] 'The stone whatever it be' [see note on Ezek. iii. 9] 'was hard enough to cut ineffaceable characters (Jer. xvii. 1): it was harder than flint (Ezek. iii. 9). It would cut rocks; it could not be graven itself or receive the characters of God' (Pusey).

[c] Rather, 'the teaching', i.e. divine instruction given by the Prophets. See note on Mal. ii. 7.

[d] In proportion as the prophetic power declined, the prophets came to depend more and more upon the earlier prophecies, which was a step in the direction of forming a canon of prophetic literature, side by side with the gradual growth of a legislative canon.

[e] This is not directly a warning to the people of Zechariah's time, but the threat uttered to the fathers.

[f] Better, to point with Nowack and Marti, 'And I scattered them . . . and the land was desolate', &c. This was the carrying out of the threat conveyed in the previous verse.

[g] Chapter viii now appears as made up of ten short passages, each conveying a note of hope and encouragement, but in form they are not all homogeneous.

2. *Jehovah's presence in Zion.* viii. 3.

Thus saith the LORD: 3
I am returned unto Zion [a],
And will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem:
And Jerusalem shall be called The city of truth [b];
And the mountain of the LORD of hosts The holy mountain [c].

3. *The dower of old folk and young.* viii. 4–5.

Thus saith the LORD of hosts: 4
[1] Or, *sit* There shall yet old men and old women [d] [1] dwell in the streets of Jerusalem,
[2] Heb. *for multitude of days.* Every man with his staff in his hand [2] for very age.
And the streets of the city shall be full of boys 5
and girls
Playing in the streets thereof.

4. *Jehovah will do things marvellous indeed in the sight of the remnant of His people.* viii. 6.

Thus saith the LORD of hosts: 6

Thus verse 3 begins with 'Thus saith Jehovah' instead of 'Jehovah of hosts'. In verse 19 the opening phrase is premised by the heading in verse 18, 'And the word of the LORD', &c., which naturally marks a new prophecy. Moreover this passage stands out from the rest as alone containing a direct answer to the question of the deputation in vii. 3 concerning fasting, and it seems strange that this answer should have been originally imbedded in a larger prophecy not necessarily connected with it. These difficulties are most easily explained by supposing that verses 18–19 first stood by themselves and were afterwards connected, possibly by the prophet himself, with a separate prophecy of the Messianic age. This would have contained only seven promises if verses 2–3 and either 4–6 or 20–23 formed originally single groups. In favour of the first of the two alternatives it may be said that verse 6 hardly contains a distinct promise; in favour of the second that the promises in verses 20–22 and verse 23 are practically the same.

[a] The dwelling of Jehovah in the Temple is the condition of the dawn of the Messianic age. See note on Ezek. xlviii. 35.

[b] Better, 'The city of faithfulness'. Cf. Isa. i. 26.

[c] Cf. Jer. xxxi. 23; Obad. 16; Joel iii. 17.

[d] For Dr. G. A. Smith's noble description of this 'immortal picture of Zechariah'—'peaceful old age carried to its utmost verge, and leaning in venerable security on its staff; the boys and girls, in childlike mirth, playing in the streets' (Stanley)—see Introd., p. 18. The promise may be regarded as receiving a certain fulfilment in the days of Simon the Maccabee, when we read: 'As for the land of Judea that was quiet all the days of Simon; . . . the ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. . . . He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy: for every man sat under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to fray them' (1 Macc. xiv. 4, 9, 11). Cf. also our Lord's allusion to the children of His day playing in the market-place (Matt. xi. 16, 17).

If it be marvellous in the eyes of the remnant of
this people in those days,
Should it also be marvellous in mine eyes[a]?
Saith the LORD of hosts.

5. *The complete Return and Covenant life of the Dispersed.* viii. 7–8.

7 Thus saith the LORD of hosts:
Behold, I will save my people from the east country,
and from the west country[b]:
8 And I will bring them, and they shall dwell in the
midst of Jerusalem;
And they shall be my people,
And I will be their God,
In truth and in righteousness[c].

6. *A time of famine and warfare would be turned into one of peace and plenty.* viii. 9–13.

9 Thus saith the LORD of hosts:
Let your hands be strong, ye that hear in these
days these words from the mouth of the pro-
phets, which were in[d] the day that the founda-
tion of the house of the LORD of hosts was
laid, even the temple, that it might be built.
10 For before those days there was no hire for man,
nor any hire for beast[e]; neither was there
any peace to him that went out or came in
because of the adversary: for I set all men
every one against his neighbour.
11 But now I will not be unto the remnant of this
people as in the former days,
Saith the LORD of hosts.
12 For *there shall be* the seed of peace[f];

[a] The things that are impossible with men are possible with God. Ps. cxviii. 23; Mark x. 27; Matt. xix. 26; Luke xviii. 27.

[b] That is, from other parts of the world, those from the north (see note on iii. 6) having already returned. Cf. Isa. xliii. 5, 6.

[c] These are 'the conditions of the covenant on both sides. Cf. Hos. ii. 19, 20; Isa. xlviii. 1' (Speaker's Commentary).

[d] Better, by change of a single letter (with LXX, &c.), 'have been from'. It thus refers to the reassuring words of Haggai and Zechariah which had been from the time when the restoration of the Temple was begun (Hag. i. 14, 15; ii. 18; Ezra v. 1, 2).

[e] The scanty crops (Hag. i. 6–11; ii. 16–19) made it impossible to reward either man or beast for their labour; unfriendly neighbours interfered with their projects (Ezra iv. 1; viii. 22), and they had their own miserable dissensions (see verses 10 b, 17).

[f] It is better to read, with many scholars, 'I will sow peace' (cf. Hos. ii. 23), the result being expressed in the three following clauses.

The vine shall give her fruit,
And the ground shall give her increase,
And the heavens shall give their dew;
And I will cause the remnant of this people to inherit all these things.
And it shall come to pass that, as ye were a curse among the nations[a], 13
O house of Judah and house of Israel,
So will I save you, and ye shall be a blessing[b]:
Fear not, *but* let your hands be strong.

7. *The Divine blessing which would follow kindness and upright conduct.* viii. 14–17

For thus saith the LORD of hosts: 14
As I thought to do evil unto you, when your fathers provoked me to wrath, saith the LORD of hosts, and I repented not;
So again have I thought in these days to do good unto Jerusalem and to the house of Judah: 15
Fear ye not.
These are the things that ye shall do; 16
Speak ye every man the truth with his neighbour;
[1] Execute the judgement of truth and peace in your gates[c]:
And let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbour[d]; 17
And love no false oath:
For all these are things that I hate,
Saith the LORD.

[1] Heb. *judge truth and the judgement of peace.*

8. *The solemn fasts shall become cheerful feasts.* viii. 18–19.

And the word of the LORD of hosts came unto me, saying, 18
Thus saith the LORD of hosts: 19
The fast[e] of the fourth *month*, and the fast of the

[a] i.e. an example of one cursed, one whom nations scorned and treated as a byword. Cf. Jer. xxiv. 9; xlii. 18.

[b] i.e. one whom the nations honoured and blessed as a type of a happy people. Cf. Luke i. 48.

[c] See note on Amos v. 12.

[d] See Introd., p. 17.

[e] See introductory note on ch. viii, p. 37[g]. The solemn fasts are to be changed into cheerful feasts, for the practice of virtue is the true fast. During the Exile four fasts were observed, in the 4th, 5th, 7th, and 10th months respectively, to commemorate (1) on the 17th of Tammuz, the Fall of Jerusalem 586 B.C. (Jer.

fifth, and the fast of the seventh, and the fast
of the tenth, shall be to the house of Judah joy
and gladness, and cheerful feasts;
Therefore love truth and peace.

9. *The nations will encourage each other in seeking the favour of the God of Israel.* viii. 20–22.

20 Thus saith the LORD of hosts:
It shall yet *come to pass*, that there shall come
peoples, and the inhabitants of [1] many cities: [1] Or, *great*
21 and the inhabitants of one *city* shall go to
another, saying, Let us go speedily [a] to intreat
the favour of the LORD, and to seek the LORD
of hosts: I will go also [b].
22 Yea, many peoples and strong nations shall come
to seek the LORD of hosts in Jerusalem,
And to intreat the favour of the LORD.

10. *The nations from all parts of the world will worship the God of the Jew.* viii. 23.

23 Thus saith the LORD of hosts:
In those days *it shall come to pass*, that ten men [c]
shall take hold, out of all the languages [d] of
the nations, shall even take hold of the skirt [e]
of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with
you, for we have heard that God is with you [f].

xxxix. 2; lii. 6, 7); (2) on the 9th of Ab, the Burning of the Temple, &c. (Jer. lii. 12–14); (3) on the 2nd of Tishri, the murder of Gedaliah (Jer. xli); (4) on the 10th of Tebet, the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix. 1). All these fasts are still observed by the Jews. According to their tradition the first and second temples were destroyed on the same day, and this is called the 'Black Fast' in contradistinction to the 'White Fast' which is the great Day of Atonement. (See Edersheim, *The Temple*, &c., pp. 297, 298; Oesterley and Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*.)

[a] Better, 'verily go'. Cf. Isa. ii. 3; Mic. iv. 2. This prophecy is receiving its fulfilment in the ever-growing extension of the Kingdom of Christ.

[b] Probably an elliptical phrase expressing the answer to the proposal, 'If you are going, I will come with you.' Others take it of the prophet's intention to share personally in the act of worship; but the words in connexion with the context imply the pilgrimage of a Gentile.

[c] i.e. a large number (cf. Gen. xxxi. 7; Neh. iv. 12). Every Jew will have many men of different nations pressing around him and eager to join him.

[d] i.e. men of all nations in the world would join the Jews and worship their God. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 18; Rev. v. 9; vii. 9, &c.

[e] The action of one who insists upon receiving attention. Cf. 1 Sam. xv. 27; Isa. iv. 1.

[f] Ch. ix–xiv will be found on pp. 84–103 of this volume.

MALACHI

INTRODUCTION

NOTHING is known of the writer of Malachi except the few hints which we may perhaps gather from the book itself. It is doubtful whether we even know his name. Very little importance can be attached to the statement of i. 1, which supposes Malachi to be a proper name and that of the author of this book. For that verse has all the appearance of being an editorial note (cf. Nah. i. 1; Hab. i. 1, &c.) which was probably added [1] under the impression that what was really the name of the book was, as in so many other cases, the name of its author. There was a different tradition among the Jews, as seen from the Targum of Jonathan, which ascribed the book to Ezra the priest and scribe, a tradition which survived at least to the time of Jerome.

Malachi, 'My Messenger', which is the emphatic word of the most striking passage in the book (iii. 1–6), may very naturally have given the name to an anonymous book. This is rendered all the more likely if, as seems not improbable, that passage was misunderstood to refer to the prophet himself, a misconception which is rendered more likely by the word messenger being applied to prophets in Hag. i. 13 and Mal. ii. 7. The originally anonymous character of this book is all the more probable when we realise that the same was the case with the prophecy [2] Zech. ix—xiv. It was natural enough that these anonymous prophecies should have been placed at the end of the whole collection. On the other hand, the title of the book in LXX, *Malachias*, seems to point for its authorship to an original Malachijah, 'Jehovah's angel', a name not otherwise found in Hebrew literature. But this evidence is more than neutralised by the fact that in i. 1 LXX translates *Malachi* (reading *Malacho*) 'his angel'. It is probable, therefore, that the title is a later addition.

The ascription of the work to Ezra is, no doubt, a plausible conjecture due to the tone and attitude of the writer. We may compare the ascription of Chronicles to the same writer. But had Malachi been written by so celebrated and influential a man as 'the second Moses', it is extremely unlikely that its authorship should not have been known from the first.

The chief object of the Prophet was to condemn certain irregularities of worship. The people offered blemished victims for sacrifices,

[1] ii. 12 (?) and iv. 4–6 are the only other passages in the book whose originality is not generally accepted.

[2] Or prophecies Zech. ix—xi and xii—xiv. See Introd. to Zech. ix–xiv, p. 80.

and the priests in allowing them to be brought were especially to blame. Such conduct was an insult to Jehovah. Even heathen nations throughout the world put the Jews to shame, having a higher sense of the worship due to their divinities which Malachi boldly recognises as reverence paid to Jehovah's Name [1] (i. 11, where see note). There was also considerable neglect in the matter of tithes. If they were duly offered, the people might expect that Jehovah would again bless the labours of the field (iii. 10). But the prophet is by no means concerned only with questions of ritual. His anger is specially excited against divorce, which seems to have become a common practice in his time (ii. 10–16). It is true, of course, that he condemns it chiefly because it was practised with the view of contracting heathen marriages (see especially ii. 11. Cf. Ezra ix. 2 ff.; Neh. xiii. 23–30); but he also maintained that in itself it was a sin, involving as it did, a breach of faith, abhorrent to a God of justice (ii. 15–16). In this respect he anticipates to a large extent the teaching of Christ on this subject (Mark x. 2–12; Luke xvi. 18; Matt. v. 31–32; xix. 3–9. See note [a] on ii. 15). He also, like earlier prophets, refers to other social evils as an offence against God, such as adultery, injustice to servants, and the oppression of the helpless (iii. 5). Against all such evils he anticipates in a somewhat apocalyptic vein the sudden Advent of Jehovah, who would first send His messenger to prepare His way (iii. 1, where there is a probable allusion to Isa. xl. 2). He would answer those who doubted the justice of Divine providence (ii. 17; iii. 13–15) by punishing the wicked, while to the righteous He would be like the rising sun bringing light and gladness (iv. 1–3). 'This was to be the moment of the unexpected sifting and dividing of the essential from the unessential, the worthless from the valuable. It was to be like the furnace in which the precious metals were cleansed; it was to be like the tank in which the fullers beat and washed out the clothes of the inhabitants of Jerusalem; it was to be like the glorious uprising of the Eastern sun which, as its rays extended like the wings of the Egyptian Sun-god, should by its healing and invigorating influences call forth the good from their obscurity, prancing and bounding like the young cattle in the burst of spring, and treading down under their feet the dust and ashes to which the same bright sun had burnt up the tangled thicket of iniquitous dealing.' [2] If the messenger of iii. 1 be identified with Elijah of

[1] 'It is not the mere question of there being righteous people in every nation, well-pleasing to Jehovah because of their lives. The very sacrifices of the heathen are pure and acceptable to Him. Never have we had in prophecy, even the most far-seeing and evangelical, a statement so generous and so catholic as this' (G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. p. 359).

[2] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, iii. pp. 138–9.

iv. 5–6, the preparation of Jehovah's way would be especially by healing social and family discords.[1]

That the prophet wrote during or close upon the period of the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah is generally agreed. The great abuse which he so vehemently attacks, divorce followed by the marriage of heathen wives, was so far at least as the latter was concerned, that which especially taxed the energies of those two great reformers (Ezra ix. 2 ; Neh. xiii. 23–30). Again, the insistence of the payment of tithes reminds the reader of the provisions in Neh. xii. 44. It is most likely that the laxity in this respect and in regard to sacrifice, was among the abuses which made the exact provisions of the Priestly Code necessary. Now it is pretty generally agreed among scholars that this was the code promulgated by Nehemiah (Neh. viii, 444 B.C.). It is most probable therefore that the book was written either during, or a little before the administration of Ezra (c. 458 B.C.), and that the reformation of the fifth century under Ezra and Nehemiah was probably largely prepared for by Malachi. This view is confirmed by the use of the word *pechah* for governor (i. 8), instead of *tirshatha*, the name used of Nehemiah's office (Neh. vii. 65 : viii. 9) ; by the employment of the term Levi (ii. 4) for the Priesthood (cf. Deut. xvii. 9 ; xviii. 1, &c.) ; and other indications which recall the Deuteronomic rather than the Priestly code.[2] It is possible indeed that the prophet saw in Ezra a fulfilment of his prediction of the coming of Jehovah's messenger or even of Elijah (but see notes on iii. 1 ; iv. 5).

The book has been well called 'a significant landmark in the history of Israel[3]'. Malachi helped forward, by his emphasis on the observance of ritual, that system of formal legalism which, prominent in Ezekiel's teaching, was subsequently more definitely promulgated in the Priestly Code, while the closing words of the book[4] are full of rich suggestiveness to all who are familiar with the

[1] 'It was a fixed belief of the Jews that Elijah had appeared again and again (cf. Matt. xi. 14 ; xvi. 14 ; Luke ix. 8 ; John i. 21, 25, &c.) as an Arabian merchant, to wise and good Rabbis at their prayers or on their journeys. A seat is still placed for him to superintend the circumcision of the Jewish children. Passover after passover, the Jews of our own day place the paschal cup on the table, and set the door wide open, believing that that is the moment when Elijah will reappear. When goods are found and no owner comes, when difficulties arise and no solution appears, the answer is, 'Put them by till Elijah comes' (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, vol. ii. p. 244).

[2] e.g. the use of the word *minchah* of offerings generally (i. 10, 11, 13), instead of its restriction, as in P, to the meal-offering ; the language as to tithes and offerings (iii. 8, 10 ; cf. Deut. xii. 11 ; xxvi. 12, &c.).

[3] Ryle, *Encycl. Britann.* xvii. 455. 'The permanence of Judaism depended on the religious separateness of the Jews' (ibid.).

[4] See note on the appendix, iv. 4–6. 'Malachi makes this promise of the Law in the dialect of Deuteronomy (cf. "statutes and judgements", ver. 4). But the Law he enforces is not that which God delivered to Moses

Gospel-story of our Lord. Malachi therefore is likened to 'a late evening which brings a long day to a close', and also to 'a morning dawn which brings with it the promise of a new and more glorious day[1]'.

Malachi saw that the disobedience of his time was the result of a lowered morality largely due to the fact that the completion of the Temple (516 B.C.) was followed by disillusionment as to the prosperity which was expected. This led in turn to indifference as to worship, and scepticism as to providence. His style is didactic, and his method of argument shews traces of the dialectic manner which subsequently became so prominent in the Jewish schools[2]. His language is mostly plain and homely, but not without true dignity, and there are passages of no little merit in his book (i. 11; iii. 1–4, 10–12, 16–17; iv. 1–3). Nor can any one fail to see the prophet's originality and earnestness. We agree, therefore, with Dr. Torrey[3], who says that 'the estimate that pronounces it as a monument of the degeneracy of Hebrew prophecy, the product of an age whose religious teachers could only imitate but not attain to, the special fervour of the old prophets (Duhm, Reuss, &c.), is decidedly unjust.'

If the earlier prophets lead us to the thought of the founding of the Church as the special instrument of God's Kingdom upon earth, this prophet, more than perhaps any other, leads us to that of the final judgement of the wicked, and the joyous life of the righteous in the eternal sunshine of God's love.

on the plains of Shittim, but that which He gave him in Mount Horeb. And so it came to pass. In a very few years after Malachi prophesied Ezra the scribe brought from Babylon the great Levitical Code, which appears to have been arranged there, while the colony in Jerusalem were still organising their life under the Deuteronomic legislation. In 444 B.C. this Levitical Code, along with Deuteronomy, became by covenant between the people and their God their Canon and Law. In Joel its full influence is at work' (G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, ii. 372).

[1] Farrar, *The Minor Prophets*, p. 230.

[2] Although there is, of course, an immense difference between the Dialogues of Plato and the dialectic style of Malachi, it is yet interesting to notice that Malachi appeared in Judæa much about the same time as Socrates in Athens.

[3] *Encycl. Bibl.*, c. 2910.

MALACHI

TITLE AND EXORDIUM

God's love to Israel is affirmed and demonstrated in the contrasted destiny of Israel and Edom. i. 1–5.

†[1] Or, *oracle*
[2] Or, *my messenger*

1 The [1] burden [a] of the word of the LORD to Israel by [2] Malachi [b].

I have loved you [c], saith the LORD. 2
Yet [d] ye say, Wherein hast thou loved us?
[3] Was not Esau Jacob's brother [e]? saith the LORD:
yet I loved Jacob; but Esau I hated [f], and 3
made his mountains a desolation [g], and *gave* his
heritage to the jackals [h] of the wilderness.
[4] Whereas Edom saith, We are [5] beaten down, 4
but we will return and build the waste places;
Thus saith the LORD of hosts,
They shall build,
But I will throw down:
And men shall call them The border [i] of wickedness,
And The people against whom the LORD hath indignation for ever.

[3] Or, *Is not Esau . . . ? yet I have loved &c.*
[4] Or, *Though Edom say*
[5] Or, as otherwise read, *impoverished*

N.B. An obelus (†) *attached to a marginal note shews that the alternative rendering or reading is preferred, or calls attention to some other important point.*

[a] See vol. i. p. 93, note [b], and vol. ii. p. 126, note [a]. Cf. Zech. ix. 1; xii. 1.

[b] See Introd., p. 42.

[c] See Hos. xi. 1–4; xiv. 4; Jer. xxxi. 3; Isa. xliii. 4; lxiii. 9; Deut. iv. 37; vii. 7–8, &c.

[d] This form of expression, giving the original thesis, the people's supposed objection and the prophet's argumentative reply, is characteristic of the book. See i. 6; ii. 14, 17; iii. 7, 8, 13.

[e] The two brothers (Gen. xxv. 23) are referred to as representing the nations, Israel and Edom, descended from them. Cf. Amos i. 11; Obad. 10. See Obadiah, Introd., vol. iii. p. 2.

[f] i.e. I have shewn myself hostile to. The hatred is mentioned to bring out the strong contrast to Jehovah's love for Israel. For the application of this passage to the doctrine of predestination see Rom. ix. 13. 'In choosing the contrast of Edom's fate to illustrate Jehovah's love for Israel, Malachi was not only choosing what would appeal to the passion of his contemporaries, but what is the most striking and constant antithesis in the whole history of Israel: the absolutely diverse genius and destiny of these two Semitic nations. . . . The doctrine is the result, not of an arbitrary belief in God's bare fiat, but of historical experience' (G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii. pp. 350, 351). See Introd. to Obad. vol. iii. pp. 2, 3.

[g] The desolation here referred to was probably part of the result of the Nabataean invasion about this time. See note on Obad. 3. Cf. Isa. lxiii; Ezek. xxv. 4, 5, 10.

[h] These often prowl about deserted towns and ruins. Cf. Isa. xiii. 22; xxxiv. 13; Jer. ix. 11; x. 22; xlix. 33; li. 37.

[i] i.e. land. Contrast verse 5b.

5 And your eyes shall see, and ye shall say,
The LORD [1] be magnified [2] beyond the border of
Israel [a].

[1] Or, *is great*
[2] Or, *over*

I. REMONSTRANCES AGAINST THE PREVAILING LAXITY IN THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CONDUCT OF THE NATION. i. 6–ii. 16.

1. *THE IMPIETY AND PROFANITY OF THE PRIESTS.* i. 6—ii. 9.

Their conduct was a violation of the reverence due to Jehovah. i. 6a.

6 A son honoureth his father,
And a servant his master:
If then I be a father, where is mine honour?
And if I be a master, where is my fear?
Saith the LORD of hosts unto you, O priests, that despise my name.

Their maimed and defective offerings were an insult to God, who was reverenced even among the Gentiles. i. 6b–14.

And ye say, Wherein have we despised thy name?
7 Ye offer polluted bread [b] upon mine altar.
And ye say, Wherein have we polluted thee [c]?
In that ye say [d], The table [e] of the LORD is contemptible.
And when ye offer the blind for sacrifice,
It is no evil [f]!
8 And when ye offer the lame and sick,
It is no evil!
Present it now unto thy governor [g];
Will he be pleased with thee?

[a] Cf. Ps. xl. 16; xlviii. 1. Jehovah's power is seen beyond the confines of His own land.

[b] i.e. profane sacrifices not in accordance with the prescribed ritual. Cf. Ezra ii. 62, where it is used of men degraded from the priesthood. For this use of 'bread' in the sense of a sacrifice see Lev. xxi. 6, 8; Ezek. xliv. 7.

[c] LXX 'them', i.e. the loaves of bread.

[d] 'This was their inward thought. . . . He puts these thoughts into abrupt, bold, hard words which might startle them for their hideousness, as if he would say, this is what your acts mean. He exhibits the worm and the decay which lay under the whited exterior' (Pusey).

[e] i.e. the altar. Cf. Ezek. xli. 22; xliv. 16.

[f] i.e. It does not matter! So the priests thought. Cf. Lev. xxii. 20–24; Deut. xv. 21; xvii. 1.

[g] See note on Hag. i. 1.

Or will he accept thy person?
Saith the LORD of hosts.
And now, I pray you, intreat the favour of God,
That he may be gracious unto us:
This hath been [1] by your means: will he [2] accept [a] any of your persons?
Saith the LORD of hosts.
Oh that there were one among you that would shut the doors,
That ye might not kindle *fire on* mine altar in vain [b]!
I have no pleasure in you,
Saith the LORD of hosts,
Neither will I accept an offering at your hand.
For [c] from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same
My name [d] [3] is great among the Gentiles;
And in every place [4] incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering [e]:
For my name [3] is great among the Gentiles,
Saith the LORD of hosts.

[1] Heb. *from your hand.*
[2] Or, *accept any because of you*
[3] Or, *shall be*
[4] Or, *incense and a pure oblation are offered*

[a] Better 'shall I accept', &c., or, with LXX, 'I will by no means accept'.

[b] Better to close the Temple altogether and not light the fire upon the altar than to offer such worship as this!

[c] The Hebrew, as frequently, omits the verb-substantive in this verse. The older commentators supplied a future and regarded the language as a prophecy of a universal conversion of the heathen. So Dr. Pusey, who renders the words after 'every place', 'an oblation shall be burnt to My Name, even a pure offering'. But it is more natural to suppose, with R.V., a present tense. The imperfect homage of the Gentiles, if it is the best that their knowledge and opportunities enable them to give, is preferred to the perfunctory irreverent worship of His own people. In other words, the Jews are the most irreligious worshippers in the world, while the prophet's words contain, perhaps unconsciously, the great truth, that there is latent throughout heathenism a real worship of the one true God (see note on p. 43). So understood, the prophet anticipates Pope's *Universal Prayer*:

'Father of all, in every age, in every clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage, Jehovah, Jove, or Lord'.

But it may be merely sarcastic. For a more serious utterance of a similar thought as regards the heathen cf. Ps. lxv. 5; Acts x. 35. W. R. Smith and a few others interpret the passage of the worship of Jews scattered in the Dispersion especially in view of the light thrown upon the Temple of Yahu at Elephantine (see note on Isa. xix. 18, but see Driver). The remains of a temple of Jewish settlers in Egypt have been recently discovered at Tel-el-Yehudiyeh, thirty miles north of Cairo, and are thought by Flinders Petrie to be an exact copy of Zerubbabel's Temple.

[d] Cf. Acts xvii. 23.

[e] Here and in verse 10, probably not technically the meal-offering (*minchah*), but offerings of any kind (see Introd., p. 44, note 2). Subsequently the priestly technical meaning of the term was the bloodless-offering. It is here called pure because offered in a very different spirit from that implied in verses 7 and 12. Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 21.

12 But ye profane it, in that ye say, The table of the
LORD is polluted, and the fruit thereof, even
his meat [a], is contemptible.
13 Ye say also, Behold, what a weariness is it [b]!
and ye have snuffed [c] at it,
Saith the LORD of hosts;
And ye have brought that which was taken by
violence [d], and the lame, and the sick; thus ye
bring the offering [e]:
Should I accept this of your hand?
Saith the LORD.
14 But cursed be the deceiver, which hath in his
flock a male, and voweth, and sacrificeth unto
the Lord a blemished thing [f]:
For I am a great king,
Saith the LORD of hosts,
And my name is terrible [g] among the Gentiles.

Their condign punishment. ii. 1–3.

2 And now, O ye priests, this commandment [h] is
for you.
2 If ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay it to
heart, to give glory unto my name,
Saith the LORD of hosts,
Then will I send the curse upon you, and I will
curse your blessings [i]: yea, I have cursed
them already, because ye do not lay it to heart.
3 Behold, I will rebuke [1] the seed for your sake [k],
and will spread dung upon your faces [l], even
the dung of your [2] sacrifices;
And ye shall be taken away [3] with it [m].

[1] According to some ancient versions, *your arm.*†
[2] Or, *feasts*
[3] Or, *unto*

[a] Food of any kind, whether animal or not. See note on Dan. i. 5.
[b] viz. the service of the Sanctuary.
[c] Better, 'puffed or blown at', a figure of disdain or contempt.
[d] i.e. stolen.
[e] Wellhausen by a very slight change reads, 'And ye bring it as an offering!' See note on verse 11.
[f] A worthless beast is brought in payment of a vow, contrary to the express injunctions of the law. See Lev. xxii. 18–20. LXX reads, 'and he voweth upon it', i.e. to offer the male animal which was presumably without blemish and offers a blemished thing instead.
[g] 'Awe-inspiring', and therefore should be so among the Jews.
[h] Better, 'decree', to amend such ways.
[i] The fruits of the earth with which Jehovah ordinarily blessed His people. Cf. iii. 10.
[k] Probably we should read, with a slight alteration of the text, 'I will cut off your arm'. Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 31.
[l] The offal (cf. Exod. xxix. 14) removed from the diseased and blemished animals brought to sacrifice will be flung back into the faces of the priests.
[m] Away from the temple of honour unto the place where the offal is cast.

The contrast between them and the ideal priest of old.
ii. 4–9.

And ye shall know that I have sent this command- 4
ment unto you, that my covenant might be
with Levi[a],
Saith the LORD of hosts.
My covenant[b] was with him of life and peace; 5
And I gave them to him that he might fear,
And he feared me, and stood in awe of my name.
The law[c] of truth was in his mouth, 6
And unrighteousness was not found in his lips:
He walked with me[d] in peace and uprightness,
And did turn many away from iniquity.
For the priest's lips should keep knowledge[e], 7
And they should seek the law at his mouth:
For he is the messenger of the LORD of hosts.
But ye are turned aside out of the way; 8
Ye have caused many to stumble[f] in the law;
Ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi,
Saith the LORD of hosts.
Therefore have I also made you contemptible 9
and base before all the people, according as ye
have not kept my ways, but have had respect of
persons[g] in the law.

[a] The decree (verse 1) is given so that the priests may repent and the covenant with Levi (i. e. the Priests) may continue (see verses 5–7). Priests are here regarded as co-extensive with the tribe of Levi, not, as in P, limited to the sons of Aaron. See Introd., p. 44.

[b] Better (with Driver), 'My covenant was with him: life and peace which I gave unto him [and] fear, and he feared me'. Both sides of the covenant are mentioned. Jehovah gives well-being and prosperity; the priests are to give reverence and godly fear. The reference is *specially* to the faithfulness of Phinehas recorded in Num. xxv. 6–15. Cf. Neh. xiii. 29.

[c] i. e. teaching. See note on Hag. ii. 11. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 8–11 for the ideal priesthood.

[d] Cf. Gen. v. 24; vi. 9; xvii. 1.

[e] viz. of the 'law', not necessarily the written law, Jer. viii. 8. It should be remembered that originally one of the most important duties of the priests was to give decisions on points of controversy (see note on verse 9), which were regarded originally at any rate as of direct Divine authority. This verse suggests the revival or survival of the function of Priests as instructors, their decision having come to depend more probably upon tradition rather than what was believed to be a direct Divine revelation.

[f] By giving wrong directions. See previous note. Cf. Neh. ix. 29.

[g] i. e. they were partial in their judgements. One of the oldest functions of the priests was the administration of justice (Exod. xxi. 6, 22; xxii. 1, &c.). This was combined with a secular judge in the Deuteronomic code (Deut. xvii. 8–13), and seems to have been revived again by Nehemiah. For the phrase see Deut. i. 17; Lev. xix. 25. Literally to lift up the face, i. e. allow the bowed suppliant to rise; it came to mean to grant the suit, and then it got the collateral idea of accepting the rich who could make it worth while at the expense of the poor.

Divorce was a violation of the brotherly love which is involved in the fatherhood of God [a]. ii. 10.

10 Have we not all one father?
Hath not one God created us?
Why do we deal treacherously [b] every man against his brother,
Profaning the covenant [c] of our fathers?

A heathen marriage meant faithlessness to Jehovah. ii. 11.

11 Judah hath dealt treacherously,
And an abomination is committed in Israel [d] and in Jerusalem;
For Judah hath profaned the [1] holiness of the LORD which he loveth,
And hath married the daughter of a strange god [e].

[1] Or, *sanctuary*

They would meet with the punishment which they deserved. ii. 12.

12 The LORD will cut off to the man that doeth this him that waketh and him that answereth [f], out

[a] Some recent commentators give a figurative interpretation to this passage, referring it to the rupture of the marriage covenant with God (ver. 10) and adoption of heathen worship, the wife of the covenant (ver. 14) being contrasted with the daughter of a foreign God (ver. 11). See *Encycl. Bibl.* iii. 2909. But it may be objected that wherever else the figure is employed (as in Hos. i—iii) Jehovah is compared to the husband, not the wife, and that moreover verse 16 seems most naturally to refer to literal divorce.

[b] Or faithlessly. See verses 14, 15, 16; Exod. xxi. 18; Jer. iii. 10, where it is used maritally. The meaning is, If God is the Creator and Father of all, then all are brethren with brotherly duties.

[c] By divorcing their Israelitish, in order to marry heathen wives, they were both sinning against man and neglecting their religious covenant with God (cf. Neh. xiii. 1–3). But some think that the rebuke is directed against the encroachment of foreign worship in Israel. 'Judah has dealt falsely with the wife of his youth, the covenant religion, and is wedding a strange cult.' See note [a].

[d] Israel is here of course not the Northern Kingdom, but the nation generally; a term frequently employed of the post-exilic nation as in the Deutero-Isaiah (see especially xlviii. 1, where, as here, it is the parallel of Judah and of Jacob). Some unnecessarily suppose it here to be the insertion of a later scribe.

[e] Cf. Num. xxi. 29; Deut. xxxii. 19. 'The Jews say, "He that marrieth a heathen woman is as if he made himself son-in-law to an idol"' (Pocock, quoted by Perowne).

[f] An alliterative proverbial expression (cf. 'him that is shut up and him that is left at large', 1 Kings xxi. 21) meaning every one (cf. Isa. xiv. 22), and generally supposed to be derived from the challenge of sentries or watchmen and its reply as they went their rounds in the night. Others, taking a hint from LXX rendering, read '*witness* and answerer' (viz. in a court of law; see Job xiii. 22): 'he will be deprived of all civil rights and be as an outcast,

of the tents of Jacob, and him that offereth an offering unto the LORD of hosts [a].

The uselessness of attempting to avert God's anger by lamentation and supplications without reform. ii. 13–14.

13 And this [1] again [b] ye do:
Ye cover the altar of the LORD with tears [c],
With weeping, and with sighing,
Insomuch [d] that he regardeth not the offering any more,
Neither receiveth it with good will at your hand.

14 Yet ye say, Wherefore [e]?
Because the LORD hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth [f], against whom thou hast dealt treacherously, though she is thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant [g].

The reasons why Jehovah hated divorce. ii. 15–16.

15 [2] And [h] did he not make one, although he had the

[1] Or, *a second time*

[2] Or, *And not one hath done so who had a residue of the spirit. Or what? is there one that seeketh a godly seed?*

with no one to defend him in a court of law' (see Driver). In the Arabic life of Timur (Tamerlane) we read, 'when he left the city there was not a crier or an answerer in it', i.e. all were massacred.

[a] i.e. he would be deprived of religious privileges. There would be no priests left in the land; no chance of averting the evil; there would be none left to sacrifice.

[b] Lit. second thing. The first evil was the marrying of heathen women; the second, their attempt to divert the anger of Jehovah by a shallow repentance.

[c] This is usually referred to the weeping of the divorced women crying at God's altar. 'Even the altar drops tears when a man divorces the wife and companion of his youth', says Rabbi Eliezer on this verse (The *Gemara* to the Talmudic treatise *Gittim*, quoted by Box and Oesterley). But it is more natural to refer the word 'cover' (infinitive in Hebrew 'so as to cover') to the subject of the sentence. If so, it may refer to a repentance like that recorded in Ezra x, itself alone useless in averting the evil.

[d] Jehovah detesteth an insincere repentance; but perhaps we should render 'because' referring to some Divinely-sent calamity which had already occurred.

[e] Why will He not receive our offerings?

[f] Jehovah is a witness of the breach of contract (Gen. xxxi. 50) between the husband and the young wife (Isa. liv. 6) now divorced.

[g] The marriage-contract (Prov. ii. 17; cf. Jer. ii. 2), or less probably Israel's covenant with God, of which the wife became a partaker at marriage, as opposed to the foreign god. (See notes on vers. 10 and 11.)

[h] A verse of very exceptional difficulty, owing to obvious corruptions in the text. Dr. Driver, following Wellhausen and Nowack, renders, through a slight emendation, thus: 'Hast not One (God, cf. ver. 10) made and left over (i.e. preserved, 1 Sam. xiv. 36; xxv. 22) to us the spirit (of life: Gen. vi. 17, Isa. xlii. 5)? And what doth the One seek? a seed of God.' The prophet argues against

residue of the spirit? And wherefore one? He sought a godly seed. Therefore take heed to your spirit[a], and let none deal treacherously against the wife of his youth.

16 For [1] I hate putting away [b],
Saith the LORD, the God of Israel,
And him that covereth his garment [c] with violence,
Saith the LORD of hosts:
Therefore take heed to your spirit, that ye deal not treacherously.

[1] Heb. *he hateth.*

II. THE DAY OF DIVINE JUDGEMENT. ii. 17–iii. 6a.

Sceptics demanded the manifestation of God's justice. Jehovah's answer: He would come in the terror of Divine judgement to purify the nation. ii. 17–iii. 2.

17 Ye have wearied [d] the LORD with your words.
Yet ye say, Wherein have we wearied him?
In that ye say, Every one that doeth evil is good [e] in the sight of the LORD, and he de-

divorce and heathen marriage on the ground that having one God and Father, the children of Israelitish wives were sons of God, whereas the children of heathen wives were children of a heathen God (cf. daughters of a strange God, in ver. 11).

[a] Rather 'in your spirit', which according to Biblical psychology included the mind and was the special gift of God (see previous note). It should be noticed that the prophet takes a stricter view of divorce than that permitted in the Deuteronomic code (Deut. xxiv. 1–4), and anticipates to some extent the teaching of our Lord (Matt. v. 32, xix. 4–9, &c.). Though he had in his mind divorce entered upon in order to contract heathen marriages (which were also forbidden in the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. vii. 1–4), much of his argument applies to divorce of any kind.

[b] The Targum renders the first clause of this verse, 'If thou hatest her, put her away'. Thus by an arbitrary exegesis the later Rabbis transformed Malachi's anticipation of the law of marriage as taught in the Gospel into an express sanction of divorce.

[c] The meaning is obscure. There is some ground for the view expressed by Gesenius that a wife is among the Arabs spoken of frequently as a garment. Among other examples referred to, he mentions the saying in the Koran (ii. 183), 'Your wives are your garment, and you are theirs.' According to this interpretation the reference is to the violent treatment of their wives. But possibly we should translate 'him whose garment violence covers', i. e. to say whose blood-stained garment shews signs of the murder or violent ill-treatment of which he has been guilty. In which case the meaning will be, 'I hate divorce as much as I hate murderous violence'.

[d] i.e. you have been a burden and trouble to Me. Cf. Isa. xliii. 23.

[e] The prosperity of the wicked is used as a ground for charging God with delight in evil-doing. Cf. Job ix. 24, xii. 6–10, xxi. 7–18, &c.

lighteth in them; or where is the God of judgement [a]?

Behold, I send [b] my messenger [c], 3
And he shall prepare the way before me [d]:
And the Lord, whom ye seek [e], shall suddenly come to his temple;
† [1] Or, *Even* † [2] Or, *angel*
[1] And the [2] messenger of the covenant [f], whom ye delight in [g],
Behold, he cometh,
Saith the LORD of hosts.
But who may abide the day of his coming [h]? 2
And who shall stand when he appeareth?
For he is like a refiner's fire [i], and like fullers' soap [k]:

He would first sift and refine the priests. iii. 3–4.

And he shall sit [l] as a refiner and purifier of 3
silver [m],

[a] God is not just, or He would not thus favour the wicked.

[b] Rather, 'am sending'. For the prophets' foreshortening of the future, see note on Hag. ii. 6. (Cf. F. H. Woods' *The Hope of Israel*, ch. iv. x.)

[c] A prophet (Deut. xviii. 9–22) to declare Jehovah's vengeance is about to appear in the immediate future.

[d] Like a pioneer before an Oriental monarch. Cf. Isa. xl. 3, where see note.

[e] In answer to 'Where is the God of judgement?' (ii. 17) He will appear when they least expect Him (cf. Zech. viii. 3). To Malachi, as to Haggai, the temple is the destined scene of the Theophany.

[f] Better, 'Even the messenger (angel) of the Covenant', probably an allusion to the angel who was promised to lead the Israelites in the wilderness (Exod. xxxii. 34), who is identified with Jehovah Himself in Exod. xxxiii. 14. See note on Hag. i. 13. These words are applied to the Baptist in Matt. xi. 10; Mark i. 2; Luke i. 76; vii. 27.

[g] This is parallel to 'whom ye seek', and is spoken ironically.

[h] Which will be a Day of Judgement. Cf. Amos v. 18–20; Zeph. i. 7, 14–18.

[i] 'Fierce and hot, oxidizing and carrying away the base elements mixed with the silver. Cf. Zech. xiii. 9' (Driver).

[k] Lye or pearlash—the ashes of an alkaline plant, with or without the addition of olive oil. See note on Jer. ii. 22. The Arabs have long manufactured soap from olive oil and the alkaline ashes of the glasswort (*Salsola Kali*, L), a prickly and bushy plant common on our shores, as also in the desert places of Palestine. With the article the second name (Al Kali), originally applied by the Arabs to the ashes of this plant, became the scientific term for potash and the like.

[l] A graphic touch shewing deliberation and steadfastness of purpose as he tempers the fire and keenly watches the process. Cf. 'stand' in Micah v. 4.

[m] 'The reference is to the purifying influence of affliction on the people of God; their sinful impurities gradually disappear, and at last the Divine image is reflected from the soul, as the face of the refiner from the surface of the purified silver. . . . Refining silver by cupellation is a very old process. The silver mixed with lead is put into a crucible made of bone earth, and placed in a reverberatory furnace. As the oxide of lead forms, it is blown off by bellows, and towards the end of the process the thin covering of oxide becomes iridescent

And he shall purify the sons of Levi [a],
And purge [b] them as gold and silver;
And they shall offer unto the LORD offerings in
righteousness.
4 Then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem
be pleasant unto the LORD,
As in the days of old,
And as in ancient years [c].

He would punish the wrong-doers, especially the cruel and the unjust. iii. 5–6a.

5 And I will come near to you to judgement [d];
And I will be a swift witness [e] against the
sorcerers [f], and against the adulterers, and
against false swearers; and against those
that oppress the hireling in his wages, the
widow, and the fatherless, and that turn
aside the stranger *from his right*, and fear
not me,
Saith the LORD of hosts.
6 For I the LORD change not.

III. JEHOVAH'S APPEAL TO THE NATION. iii. 6b–12.

A call to repentance. iii. 6b–7b.

Therefore ye, O sons of Jacob, are not consumed [g].
7 From the days of your fathers ye have turned
aside from mine ordinances, and have not kept
them.

and soon disappears, and the pure bright surface of the silver flashes out' (W. Carslaw, Hastings's *D.B.* iv. 213). Cf. Jer. vi. 29–30, where see notes.

[a] The judgement falls first and foremost on the priests who had dishonoured God. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 17.

[b] Used of refining silver (Ps. xii. 6; 1 Chron. xxix. 4), and gold (Job xxviii. 1; 1 Chron. xxviii. 18), and of straining wine (Isa. xxv. 6).

[c] The prophet idealises the past. Cf. ii. 5–6; 1 Kings iv. 20–21; Hos. ii. 15; Jer. ii. 2; Isa. i. 26.

[d] The answer to the challenge in ii. 17.

[e] 'How great is the dread of judgement when He is witness and judge' (St. Jerome).

[f] See note on Jer. xxvii. 9. Cf. Exod. xxii. 18; Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. viii. 6; *Jewish Wars*, ii. xiii. 5, 6; Acts viii. 9–11; xiii. 6–11.

[g] This verse, as it stands, gives the reason why Jehovah's judgement is tempered with mercy. But the context requires rather the reason for the judgement itself. Jehovah's judgement is in accordance with His unchangeable justice. It is better therefore to read, with LXX, by a very slight alteration of text, 'And ye, O sons of Jacob, have not restrained yourselves', or possibly, carrying on the sentence to the next verse, 'have not refrained from the faults of your fathers'.

The blessing that would attend the giving of Jehovah His due. iii. 7c–12.

Return unto me, and I will return unto you,
Saith the LORD of hosts.
But ye say, Wherein shall we return?
Will a man rob God? yet ye rob me. 8
But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee?
In tithes [a] and [1] offerings [b].
Ye are cursed with the curse [c]; 9
For ye rob me, even this whole nation.
Bring ye the whole tithe into the storehouse [d], that 10
there may be meat [e] in mine house, and prove me
now herewith, saith the LORD of hosts, if I will
not open you the windows of heaven [f], and pour
you out a blessing [g], that there shall not be room
enough *to receive it.*
And I will rebuke the devourer [h] for your sakes, 11
And he shall not destroy the fruits of your
ground;
Neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the
time [i] in the field,
Saith the LORD of hosts.
And all nations shall call you happy: 12
For ye shall be a delightsome land,
Saith the LORD of hosts.

[1] Heb. *heave offerings.*

[a] See Deut. xii. 17, 18; xiv. 22–29; Num. xviii. 21–32.

[b] Heb. *terūmah*, 'a thing lifted up'. It appears, however, by a comparison of the passages where it or the cognate verb is used, to mean not that which is ceremoniously raised as an act of oblation ('heave-offering' as in R. V.), but something taken off from the whole by way of consecrating it all to God. Thus the verb is used of the fat taken from the inwards (Lev. iv. 8), of the memorial taken from the *minchah* (Lev. ii. 9). So the term is applied to the portions dedicated to the priest (Lev. vii. 32–34), portions of agricultural produce offered (Num. xv. 19, 20), &c. See Driver on Lev. vii. 8 in *Polychrome Bible.* It is here used apparently of gifts from the fruits of the earth. See verses 10, 11.

[c] Especially drought and locusts. See verses 10, 11.

[d] Or treasury, one of the chambers built against the sanctuary in the Temple Court. See Neh. x. 38, 39; xii. 44; xiii. 5–9, 12–13. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxi. 11.

[e] i.e. food (see note on i. 12), provision for the Priests and Levites. Cf. Neh. x. 37–39; Num. xviii. 25–32.

[f] i.e. give rain. For this expression, here perhaps little more than a poetical figure, cf. Gen. vii. 11; 2 Kings vii. 2.

[g] Cf. ii. 2, where see note.

[h] i.e. the locust. See note on Joel i. 4.

[i] In Hebrew one word, lit. 'be barren'.

IV. THE VINDICATION OF JEHOVAH'S JUSTICE IN THE COMING JUDGEMENT. iii. 13–iv. 3.

The sceptics murmur at Jehovah's injustice. iii. 13–15.

13 Your words have been stout [a] against me,
Saith the LORD.
Yet ye say, Wherein have we spoken against thee?

14 Ye have said, It is vain to serve God:
And what profit is it that we have kept his charge [b],
And that we have walked [1] mournfully [c] before the LORD of hosts?

[1] Or, *in mourning apparel*†

15 And now we call the proud [d] happy;
Yea, they that work wickedness are built up;
Yea, they tempt God, [e] and are delivered.

His answer: Those who feared Jehovah would be spared, and become His peculiar treasure. iii. 16–17.

16 Then [f] they that feared the LORD spake one with another:
And the LORD hearkened, and heard,
And a book of remembrance [g] was written before him,

[a] i.e. rebellious (see glossary). Cf. ii. 17.

[b] Lit. 'that which should be observed', i.e. His laws, as in Gen. xxvi. 5; Lev. xviii. 30; xxii. 9; &c. Cf. Ps. lxxiii. 13; Isa. lviii. 3–4.

[c] As a sign of humiliation and penitence (see margin). For a similar use of the word cf. Ps. xxxviii. 6; xlii. 9.

[d] Cf. Ps. xix. 13 (marg.); cxix. 21; Isa. xiii. 11, &c. The proud and evil-doers prosper, while the obedient and humble gain nothing by it.

[e] They tempt Providence by their pride and evil-doing, and yet escape punishment.

[f] Neither the meaning of this verse nor its connexion with the preceding context is by any means clear. The majority of commentators regard those that feared Jehovah as contrasted with the sceptics of verses 13–15, and explain 'spake one to another' as meaning encouraged one another in religious faith. But this leaves the chief point of contrast to be supplied, and in any case the reward of the righteous and the punishment of 'the proud and them that work wickedness' (iv. 1) is the natural answer to the doubts expressed in verses 13–15. It may be better therefore to explain the righteous as belonging to the same class as the sceptics, and understand the words 'spake one to another' as an expression of their doubts and difficulties. The prophet rebukes them indeed for their want of faith and patience (ver. 13), but proves them to be in the wrong by himself acting in the exactly opposite way to what they had supposed. Similarly, Jehovah reproves Job for his presumption in doubting His justice and nevertheless, after gentle reproof, rewards him (xxxviii. 2, &c.; xl. 2, 7–14; xlii. 8, 12–17).

[g] Some explain the figure with reference to the custom prevalent among Persian kings of keeping a book in which the names of public benefactors were

For them that feared the LORD,
And that thought upon his name.
And they shall be mine, 17
Saith the LORD of hosts,
In the day [1] that I [2] do make [a],
Even a peculiar treasure [b];
And I will spare them,
As a man spareth his own son that serveth him.

[1] Or, *wherein I do make a peculiar treasure*
[2] Or, *do* this

Sceptics would see the Divine justice vindicated in the terrible fate of the ungodly, and the prosperity of the righteous. iii. 18–iv. 3.

Then shall ye [c] return and discern between the 18
righteous and the wicked,
Between him that serveth God and him that
serveth him not.
[Ch. iii. 19 in Heb.] For, behold, the day cometh, 4
It burneth as a furnace [d];
And all the proud, and all that work wickedness,
shall be stubble:
And the day that cometh shall burn them up,
Saith the LORD of hosts,
That it shall leave them neither root nor branch [e].
But unto you that fear my name shall the sun of 2
righteousness [f] arise
With healing in his wings [g];
And ye shall go forth, and gambol

recorded in order that they might receive a due reward. Cf. Esther vi. 1. The idea, however, is not a new one, or of foreign origin. See Isa. iv. 3; Exod. xxxii. 32, 33. It appears to have been a traditional practice among the Jews to keep rolls of tribes, families and citizens, Neh. vii. 64 (=Ezra ii. 62); Ps. lxxxvii. 4-6. Zimmern notes the Babylonian parallel of Nabû as the recording God who writes on tablets of destiny. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, pp. 400–7. (See notes on Dan. vii. 10 and xii. 1.)

[a] Rather, in the day on which I act.

[b] The promise to the whole nation of being God's 'peculiar people' (Heb. 'treasure or treasure people', Exod. xix. 5; Deut. vii. 6; xiv. 2; xxvi. 18; Ps. cxxxv. 4) is fulfilled to the faithful remnant because the wicked are destroyed.

[c] This verse seems to imply that the judgement of the sceptics between the righteous and godly on the one hand and the wicked and the ungodly on the other was often at fault. God's judgements would shew where He drew the line.

[d] 'The oven (Gen. xv. 17; Hos. vii. 4) was a portable earthenware jar, in shape like a truncated cone, heated by burning embers placed in it' (Driver).

[e] A metaphor for utter destruction. Cf. Job xviii. 16.

[f] The sun, which is righteousness itself, would arise, bringing health and gladness and dispelling the clouds of doubt and ignorance.

[g] The dawn is said to have wings (Ps. cxxxix. 9) because of the rapidity and the expansiveness with which it floods the world, like a bird spreading its wings. A winged sun was often found in Egyptian temples. The gates of Thebes had this emblem carved upon their top cross-stone.

As calves of the stall [a].

3 And ye shall tread down the wicked;
For they shall be ashes [b] under the soles of your feet
In the day that I [1] do make,
Saith the LORD of hosts.

[1] Or, *do this*

APPENDIX [c]. iv. 4–6.

An exhortation to remember the Mosaic law. iv. 4.

4 Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, even statutes and judgements.

Elijah will come to heal divisions and to avert a curse. iv. 5–6.

5 Behold, I will send you Elijah [d] the prophet
Before the great and terrible day of the LORD come [e].

[a] 'To the righteous a fair morning of God, as when dawn comes to those who have been sick and helpless through the black night, and its beams bring healing, even as the popular belief of Israel, it was the rays of the morning sun which distilled the dew. They break into life and energy, like young calves leaping from the dark pen (cf. Jer. l. 11) into the early sunshine. To this morning landscape a grim figure is added. They shall tread down the wicked and the arrogant like ashes beneath their feet' (G. A. Smith, pp. 369, 370). Cf. Isa. lxvi. 24. (See Introd., p. 43.)

[b] To which the fire (ver. 1) will have reduced them, when they will be trampled upon like the ashheaps outside their houses.

[c] As this passage has no natural connexion with the preceding, some have thought that it is a later appendix either to the book or to the whole collection of prophecies (see *Encycl. Bibl.* iii. 2908). But the difficulty may be met by supposing that verse 4 only is a later interpolation. While this verse is prosy and out of place, verses 5, 6 have all the fire of Malachi and refer naturally back to the judgement of iv. 1. But in any case verses 5, 6 can hardly be later than the beginning of the second cent. B.C., as Ecclus. xlviii. 10 is based on Mal. iv. 6 (see Driver). To Christians at least it forms an impressive link with the New Testament. It is interesting to note that Moses and Elijah, the great representatives of Israel's golden age, appear together in these isolated verses at the end of the Old Testament. See Introd., p. 44.

[d] The great reformer who is still believed by the Jews to be the forerunner of the Messiah, and who on his appearance will bring peace, solve difficulties, settle all disputes, pronounce who are true Israelites, and call to repentance. But 'there is no more reason to suppose that this refers to Elijah in person than to imagine from Hos. iii. 5; Ezek. xxxiv. 23; Jer. xxx. 9, &c., that David himself is to come in the flesh' (W. H. Lowe). On the reference of this passage to John the Baptist see Matt. xi. 14; xvii. 11, 12; Mark ix. 11, 12; Luke i. 17. There are those (e.g. W. R. Smith and H. E. Ryle) who think that in 'looking for the return of the ancient prophet to do the work for which later prophecy is too weak, Malachi unconsciously signalises the decay of the order of which he was one of the last representatives' (*Encycl. Britann.* xvii. 455).

[e] Cf. Joel ii. 31, from which this phrase is probably taken.

[1] Or, *with* And he shall turn the heart of the fathers [1] to the 6
children,

† [2] Or, *land* And the heart of the children [1] to their fathers [a];

[2] Or, *ban* Lest [b] I come and smite the [2] earth with a [3] curse [c].

[a] Unity will be restored to a people who are perhaps divided through the coming reform. Cf. Luke xii. 51–53; Mic. vii. 1–6.

[b] Unless Elijah does this, then the land of Israel is ruined. The ban of desolation has certainly fallen for ages upon Palestine. See note on Jer. iv. 26. In the Mohammedan world Elijah is the 'Immortal One', who in the greenness of perpetual youth is always appearing to set right the wrong (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, iii. 139). See p. 44, note 1.

[c] 'As with the conclusion of Isaiah, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, so here the Jews read in the synagogue the last verse but one over again after the last verse, to avoid concluding with the words of ill-omen' (W. H. Lowe).

JOEL

INTRODUCTION

The author and date of the book.

THE dramatic power displayed throughout this book places it in the first rank in the prophetic library. The author, who speaks partly in his own name (i. 2—ii. 18), partly in Jehovah's (ii. 19—iii. 21), tells us nothing of his personal history, and gives very little to determine the time or place of writing. We merely learn from the Preface that his name was Joel (Jehovah is God), and his father's Pethuel. From his frequent mention of the Holy City we may reasonably infer that he lived at or near Jerusalem. The question of date has given rise to great diversity of opinion. There is in the book a general absence both of foreign politics and of any allusion to the moral and social condition of the nation. 'He names neither sins nor sinners among his own people' (Pusey). Nor does any great world-power seem to threaten the land at the time. The fact that neither Syria, nor Assyria, nor Chaldea, so prominent in all the prophets from the time of Amos to the Fall of Babylon, is mentioned by Joel, makes it probable that he wrote either before the Assyrian ascendancy (c. 750 B. C.), or after the destruction of the Chaldean empire (539 B. C.). Since Credner's painstaking research in 1831 it has frequently been assigned to the minority of Joash king of Judah, when Jehoiada the priest assumed a prominent position in the State (2 Kings xi. 4–21). But while there is no doubt much that is perfectly consistent with this early date[1], other and more cogent considerations point to the period after the Exile.[2]

Reasons for assuming the later date.

The reasons for this decision are cumulative. While Joel, unlike the earlier prophets, threatens no captivity, he seems to refer distinctly to the Exile and Dispersion of the Jews as belonging to the past. Jehovah's land is 'parted' (iii. 2), over His people they have cast lots (iii. 3), and it is implied that the Temple has

[1] Cf. Joel iii. 2 with 2 Chron. xx. 26; Joel iii. 4, 8 with 2 Chron. xxi. 16; xxii. 1; Joel iii. 19 with 2 Kings viii. 20; 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26.

[2] On either view, but on this latter more especially, it must be admitted that the references to Israel's enemies (Phoenicia, Philistia, Edom, and Egypt) are difficult to explain, nor is there any even distant allusion to Persia which controlled Judaea at that time. But it should be remembered that the Persian Kings ruled the Jews with great leniency, and left them very much to themselves. See pp. 2 and 64.

been plundered (iii. 5). The Northern Kingdom is not once mentioned, and the promises of blessing (ii. 23–27; iii. 16–21) are restricted to Judah and Jerusalem. Israel, as Jehovah's people, seems, as frequently in the later prophets, to be synonymous with Judah. The Greeks, whose demand for Syrian slaves (iii. 6) was well-known in the fourth and fifth centuries B.C., are not mentioned otherwise (unless we should except Zech. ix. 13, see Introd. on Zech. ix—xiv, p. 80) in any Hebrew writer before the Exile.

The book, moreover, possesses several features which are characteristic of Judah after the Return rather than of either Kingdom before the Exile. There is a complete absence of reproof for any national sin, nor is there any denunciation of idolatry or irregular forms of worship, both of which occur so frequently in the earlier prophets. Judah is relatively righteous in Joel's eyes. This was not the condition of either Kingdom before Amos.[1] Nor is it likely that the heathen rites introduced by Athaliah (2 Chron. xxii. 3, 4; xxiv. 7) would have ceased on Joash's succession, while the Temple to which Joel summoned the priests and elders and people (i. 14; ii. 15–17) was in disrepair for twenty-three years of the reign of that king (2 Chron. xxiv. 7). The enemies which Joel has in his mind are the nations generally (iii. 2, 9–12), while the earlier prophets always spoke of definite and present foes. His attitude towards the heathen is one of wholesale vengeance, whereas in Amos (ix. 7), Micah (vii. 17), and Zephaniah (iii. 9), the nations are not to be annihilated, but won over to God.

The religious character of the book.

The same kind of differences are to be observed as we examine the religious tone of the book. The repentance Joel calls for is much more formal than that demanded by the earlier prophets, who also tended to depreciate the fasting (Jer. xiv. 12; Isa. lviii. 6; cf. Zech. vii. 5; viii. 19) which Joel emphasizes (Joel i. 14; i. 15). He attaches a very special importance to the daily sacrifice, and shews signs of the later Jewish horror at their interruption (i. 9, 13, 16; ii. 14; cf. Dan. viii. 11; xi. 31; xii. 11; Neh. x. 33), while the earlier prophets speak disparagingly of these as contrasted with moral and social duties (Amos v. 21–24; Isa. i. 11–17).

These ceremonial ideas (i. 9–13; ii. 17) accord better with the more formal religion of the post-exilic period. That Joel's eschatology is apocalyptic in character points in the same direction. The apocalyptic touches throughout the book, like those of Malachi,

[1] The worship of calves and other Canaanitish forms of idolatry were prominent in Israel, and would probably have been condemned by Joel as it was condemned by Amos, Hosea, and Micah. Cf. Amos vii. 9; Hos. x. 8; Mic. i. 5.

link these two writings with the later Jewish literature in which apocalypse was so marked a feature.[1] Again, almost the whole of Joel's eschatological picture is made up of earlier prophetic allusions (e.g. Zeph. iii. 8; Ezek. xxxviii. 22; Amos v. 8; viii. 9). Other of Joel's religious conceptions seem to shew his familiarity with, and dependence upon, earlier writers. When we compare, for instance, Amos's reference to the Day of the LORD (v. 18) with that of Joel, the priority of the former appears indisputable. In Joel it is a purely agricultural disaster which suggests Jehovah's Day. But after his connecting it with the locust ravages (i. 15; ii. 11), which he regards as a harbinger of that with which the Jews were already familiar, he keeps it prominently in his prophecy[2] (ii. 31; iii. 14) even after the removal of the locusts has been promised (ii. 19, 20–25).

The literary character of the book.

In the seventy-two verses of the book there are no fewer than twenty distinct parallels between Joel and other writers, and when once the later date is postulated[3] it is easy to see how, from Amos to Malachi, the prophet has made use of his predecessors: e. g. (1) the idea of the judgement upon the nations in general seems to be based upon such passages as Zeph. i. 2–3; iii. 8; Jer. xxv. 32–33; Ezek. xxxviii, xxxix; Isa. xlv. 20; lxiii. 6; lxvi. 16, 18, 19; xxxiv. 1–3; Zech. x. 2–3; xii. 3–4; xiv. 2–3; (2) Jehovah's 'pleading' with the heathen (iii. 2) upon Jer. xxv. 31; Isa. lxvi. 16; (3) the stream issuing from the Temple (iii. 18) upon Ezek. xlvii. 1–12; (4) there can be little doubt also that in ii. 32 Joel is alluding to Obad. 17.[4]

The polish and perfection of his style;[5] the vocabulary and grammar; the very soundness of the text and its freedom from glosses, so unlike the pre-exilic literature, all point to the same conclusion, viz. that Joel lived in the period of rest and activity which succeeded the struggles of Nehemiah with the Samaritan and other neighbouring peoples. On the other hand, as there is no

[1] See Daniel, Introd., pp. 127–129.

[2] With Amos, Jehovah's Day is a day of sifting for Israel in which the righteous remnant only is saved (ix. 9, 10), whereas with Joel it is a day in which the nations are judged and Israel blessed (iii. 9–21).

[3] The following passages suggest this later date: i. 2, 8, 9, 13, 18; ii. 8, 20, 22, 26; iii. 4, 6, 10, 11, 13 (see references in notes). If, as many think, Amos i. 2; i. 9–12; ix. 8–15 are post-exilic insertions, these were probably taken from Joel.

[4] There are five other parallels with Obadiah (see Introd. to Obadiah, vol. iii. p. 2). Cf. also Joel ii. 10; iii. 15; iii. 4–8 with Isa. xiii. 10; Ezek. xxxii. 7, 8; Ezek. xxv. 15, &c.

[5] 'The discourse', says Pusey, 'flows on in a soft and gentle cadence, like one of those longer sweeps of an Aeolian harp. This blending of energy and softness is perhaps the secret why the diction also of this prophet has been at all times so winning and touching.'

reference to the cruelties of Artaxerxes Ochus, who was the first Persian king to ill-treat the Jews, it is probable that he wrote before 300 B.C.

The subject of the book.

If the view here taken of the date of the book be correct, we can picture Joel brooding over the unfulfilled predictions of the prophets who preceded him, until the terrible plague of locusts, of more than usual severity, aroused him to connect it with the Day of Jehovah, with which the earlier prophets (see note on Amos v. 18) had already made him familiar. In graphic and picturesque language, with an accuracy of detail which many modern travellers have noticed, he depicts the scourge which is before their very eyes (i. 16), and addresses a series of eloquent appeals to Jews who, in view of the yet more awful judgement which is impending, are exhorted to repent and humble themselves before the Lord. His vivid pictures of winebibbers looking out upon the wasted vines and the fig-trees with whitened trunks and leafless branches (i. 5–7); of Judah as a young bride clothed in sackcloth, bemoaning her lost husband (i. 8, 9); of husbandmen and vine-dressers sick at heart because of their wasted toil and frustrated hope (i. 10–12); of Priests and Levites in their mourning garb, prostrated within the Temple precincts, passionately supplicating the Divine mercy (i. 13–16; ii. 17), are thrilling in their clear and vigorous diction.

Many interpreters, both ancient and modern, have taken the locusts as figurative and allegorical. But, after allowing for a certain amount of hyperbole, which is always more or less present in poetical description, and for eastern rhetoric, there is nothing to suggest that throughout a literal plague of locusts is not intended. It is difficult to conceive any writer comparing the swarms of locusts pictured by the prophet to an army (ii. 4, 5) of soldiers if these locusts were already the figure of an invading host. Nor could he well speak of an enemy entering a beleaguered city like a thief (ii. 9). There is, moreover, no reference to any desolation wrought by a human foe, and the promise 'to restore the years that the locust hath eaten' (ii. 25) certainly suggests that throughout the ravages have been caused by a real swarm of locusts. At the same time it is fairly evident that it is made the basis of a prediction of some other great catastrophe: e. g. in the destruction of the locust army[1] (ii. 20) Joel sees a type of hostile nations repelled (iii. 12–14); in the return of the rain (ii. 23), a symbol of the outpouring of the Spirit (ii. 28); and in the temporal blessings[2] bestowed, not only (ii. 19–26) a witness to

[1] For the difficulty about 'the Northerner' see note on ii. 20.

[2] 'Rain and harvest are not merely physical benefits but religious sacraments. And yet the economic problem has its place in the warfare for the Kingdom of God' (G. A. Smith).

Jehovah's loving mercy towards His people (ii. 26, 27), but also a pledge that He will continue to abide with them (iii. 17–21).

The permanent religious value of the book.

By his impassioned fervour, using fear and hope as alternate grounds of appeal, Joel awakened the nation to religious earnestness, and has shewn for all time how even all visitations should suggest the awful Judgement to come. By his remarkable prediction of the universal effusion of the Spirit of God, he is well regarded by the Christian Church as 'the Old Testament prophet of the Holy Ghost.'[1] No other prophet insists more powerfully upon the necessity of repentance and the certainty of judgement. And yet no prophet holds up to the people of God more confidently the hope that maketh not ashamed (ii. 21–27), nor suggests more vividly that to the conflict and judgement will most assuredly succeed the blessing of peace (iii. 17, 18, 20, 21).

[1] Joel is quoted by St. Peter (Acts ii. 16–21) and St. Paul (Rom. x. 13).

JOEL

THE TITLE. i. 1.

THE word of the LORD that came to Joel the son of 1
Pethuel.

I. THE LESSONS OF A GREAT PLAGUE OF LOCUSTS. i–ii. 29.

The horrors of the locust invasion. i. 2–12.

Hear this, ye old men, 2
And give ear, all ye inhabitants of the land.
Hath this [a] been in your days,
Or in the days of your fathers?
Tell ye your children [b] of it, 3
And *let* your children *tell* their children,
And their children another generation.
That [c] which [1] the palmerworm hath left hath [1] the 4
locust eaten;
And that which the locust hath left hath [1] the
cankerworm eaten;
And that which the cankerworm hath left hath [1] the
caterpiller eaten.
Awake [d], ye drunkards, and weep; 5
And howl, all ye drinkers of wine,
Because of the sweet wine [e];

[1] Probably, different kinds of locusts, or locusts in different stages of growth.

N.B. An obelus (†) *attached to a marginal note shews that the alternative rendering or reading is preferred, or calls attention to some other important point.*

[a] i.e. anything like this. [b] Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 5, 6.

[c] This verse consists of three symmetrical lines of four words each, thus rendered in Latin by Pusey:

Residuum erucae comedit locusta;
Residuumque locustae comedit bruchus;
Residuumque bruchi comedit exesor.

and may be thus rendered in English:

Gnawer's leavings multiplier ate;
Multiplier's leavings licker ate;
Licker's leavings devourer ate.

By the synonyms here used Joel is probably referring not to locusts in different stages of growth, but rather to successive swarms. Whatever the exact distinction in the terms may be, it must not be pressed too far. The crops had been attacked and devoured by every sort and description of locust, until there was nothing left. See Amos iv. 9; vii. 1, 2; Isa. xxxiii. 4; Nah. iii. 15.

[d] i.e. from your drunken carousal. Cf. Gen. ix. 24; Prov. xxiii. 35.

[e] i.e. 'must', the unfermented juice of grapes and other fruit.

For it is cut off from your mouth.
6 For a nation [a] is come up upon my [b] land,
Strong [c], and without number [d];
His teeth are the teeth of a lion [e],
And he hath the jaw teeth of a great lion [e].
7 He hath laid my vine [f] waste,
And [1] barked [g] my fig tree:
He hath made it clean bare, and cast it [2] away [h];
The branches thereof are made white [i].
8 Lament [k] like a virgin girded with sackcloth for the husband of her youth [l].
9 The meal offering and the drink offering is cut off [m] from the house of the LORD;
The priests, the LORD'S ministers, mourn.
10 The field is wasted,
The land mourneth [n];
For the corn is wasted,
The new wine is [3] dried up [o],

[1] Or, *broken* †
[2] Or, *down*
[3] Or, *ashamed*

[a] Cf. Zeph. ii. 14; Prov. xxx. 24–27.

[b] The prophet is speaking either in the name of Jehovah, or more probably in that of his people. Cf. verses 7, 13, 19.

[c] 'Pressed down by the hand on the table it (the locust) has almost power to move the finger' (Pusey). Cf. ii. 2, 5, 11.

[d] Cf. Nah. iii. 15. 'In 1889 a swarm of locusts passed over the Red Sea which was estimated to extend over 2,000 miles and to contain 24,420 billions of insects weighing 42,850 millions of tons.' See *Encycl. Bibl.* iii. col. 2808.

[e] The denticulated mandible of the locust suggests to the prophet's eye the jawbone of a lion. Cf. Rev. ix. 8.

[f] Two of the most prominent fruit-trees of Palestine are selected. Cf. Isa. xxxvi. 16; Jer. v. 17; Hos. ii. 12, &c.

[g] Although locusts do eat the bark of trees, this is not the meaning here; but rather 'he hath turned the vine (or the vine is turned) to waste, and the fig tree to a splinter' (cf. Hos. x. 7 marg.), i.e. broken it to pieces, which is of course a poetical hyperbole.

[h] A reference perhaps to the stumps left standing, and metaphorically cast away as useless.

[i] Through the bark being stripped from them. 'The country [after a locust visitation] . . . . seemed to be much covered with snow through the whiteness of the trees' (quoted by Pusey).

[k] The verb, which in this sense is Aramaic, is a fem. sing., the city being addressed. Cf. Amos v. 2.

[l] The figure is that of a young woman mourning the fate of her betrothed.

[m] i. e. cannot be provided because of the calamity. The meal-offering (fine flour mingled with oil) and the drink-offering (probably a libation of wine) generally accompanied the daily sacrifices of the Second Temple (Exod. xxix. 38–42; Num. xxviii. 3–8; Lev. ii. 1–16). The High Priest also offered a daily meal-offering (Lev. vi. 19, 20).

[n] Nature was often regarded as having emotions like human beings. Cf. Amos i. 2; Isa. xxxiii. 9; Jer. xii. 4, 11; xxiii. 10; Ps. lxv. 13, &c.

[o] The same word as 'ashamed' in verse 11, and 'withered' (in ver. 12), but used in the two distinct senses of 'drying up' (Joshua ii. 10), and 'being ashamed' (Jer.

The oil [a] languisheth.

[1] Or, *The husbandmen are ashamed, the vinedressers howl*
[2] Or, *ashamed*

[1] Be ashamed, O ye husbandmen, 11
Howl, O ye vinedressers,
For the wheat and for the barley;
For the harvest of the field is perished.
The vine is [2] withered, 12
And the fig tree languisheth;
The pomegranate tree, the palm [b] tree also, and the apple tree,
Even all the trees of the field are withered:
For joy is [2] withered away from the sons of men.

A call to lamentation and prayer. i. 13–15.

Gird yourselves *with sackcloth*, and lament, ye 13
priests;
Howl, ye ministers of the altar [c];
Come, lie all night [d] in sackcloth, ye ministers of my God:
For the meal offering and the drink offering is withholden from the house of your God [e].
Sanctify a fast [f], call a solemn assembly, 14
† [3] Or, *elders*
Gather the [3] old men *and* all the inhabitants of the land [g] unto the house of the LORD your God,
And cry unto the LORD, Alas [h] for the day! 15
For the day of the LORD [i] is at hand,
† [4] Heb. *Shaddai.*
And as destruction from [4] the Almighty [k] shall it come.

ii. 26). A play on the word is probably here intended. 'The field is wasted' also has assonance. [a] See note on Hag. i. 11.

[b] The date palm. This is chosen by Tacitus and Pliny as the representative tree of Palestine, and it is found as a symbol of Judaea on the coins of Vespasian. For the assonance in this verse see note on verse 10.

[c] Cf. Ezek. xlv. 4. [d] Cf. 2 Sam. xii. 16; 1 Kings xxi. 27.

[e] See note on verse 9.

[f] Cf. Judges xx. 26; 1 Sam. vii. 6; Jer. xxxvi. 9; Neh. ix. 1; Jonah iii. 5–9; Judith iv. 9–15.

[g] Better, with Kuenen and Merx, 'Gather, O elders, all the inhabitants of the land.'

[h] Cf. Ezek. xxx. 3. In LXX and Vulgate this exclamation is thrice repeated, as though Joel 'bewildered at these portents of the day of final doom, stammered like a child, or an amazed imperfect person, *A! A! A! diei, quia prope est Dies Domini!*' (Jeremy Taylor, quoted in *Ellicott's Commentary*). These words are the cry—perhaps an old one (cf. Isa. xiii. 6)—of an afflicted people, converted into a prayer.

[i] For 'the day of Jehovah' see notes on Amos v. 18; Isa. ii. 12–17; Zeph. i. 7, 14; Mal. iv. 5, and Introd., p. 64.

[k] Driver renders the alliteration of the Heb. *Shod mishshaddai* 'as an overpowering from the overpowerer shall it come.' Shaddai (originally Shēdī, 'my demon', so Nöldeke) was probably the name of a deity who in later times came to be identified with Yahweh (see *Encycl. Britann.*, xiii. 177).

The effect of the plague of locusts (and drought?) upon the beasts and cattle. i. 16–20.

16 Is not the meat [a] cut off before our eyes,
Yea, joy and gladness [b] from the house of our God?
17 The seeds [1] rot under their clods [c];
The garners are laid desolate,
The barns are broken down [d];
For the corn is [2] withered.
18 How do the beasts groan!
The herds of cattle are perplexed,
Because they have no pasture;
Yea, the flocks of sheep [3] are made desolate [e].
19 O LORD, to thee do I cry:
For the fire [f] hath devoured the [4] pastures of the wilderness [g],
And the flame hath burned all the trees of the field.
20 Yea, the beasts of the field pant [h] unto thee:
For the water brooks are dried up,
And the fire hath devoured the [4] pastures of the wilderness.

[1] Or, *shrivel*
[2] Or, *ashamed*
[3] Or, *suffer punishment* †
[4] Or, *folds*

The ravages of the locusts like a great invading army. ii. 1–11.

2 Blow ye the trumpet [i] in Zion,
And sound an alarm [k] in my holy mountain;

[a] Food. See verse 10 and note on Mal. i. 12. 'The locust had anticipated the reaper' (Jerome).

[b] Many of the festivals and services of the Temple were occasions of great rejoicing, e.g. the Feast of Weeks at the end of the harvest (Deut. xvi. 10, 11), and the Feast of Booths at the close of the vintage (Deut. xvi. 13–15). See also Deut. xii. 6, 7; xxvi. 1, 2, 10, 11.

[c] Driver and G. A. Smith prefer 'hoes'. But as the verse contains besides this three other words which occur only here, both the text and the interpretation must be considered very doubtful. As it stands and is usually interpreted, it introduces a new and unexpected thought that drought is added to the calamity of the locusts. But see note on ii. 23.

[d] i.e. become dilapidated through want of use; ii. 25 implies that the scourge, or at least its effects, lasted for several years.

[e] Lit. 'bear the consequences of guilt.' See Hos. x. 2; xiii. 16; Isa. xxiv. 6; and cf. Jonah iii. 7, 8, where the animals are made to fast and are clothed in sackcloth, as though themselves guilty.

[f] Either the scorching heat of the sun, or conflagrations of dried grass, &c. (see notes on Amos vii. 4), or a hyperbolical description of the locust ravages. See ii. 3.

[g] i.e. 'the steppe'. See note on Jer. xii. 10.

[h] Cf. Ps. xlii. 1, 2. The tender care of God for beasts is nowhere more beautifully and pathetically expressed than in these verses. Cf. Jonah iv. 11.

[i] Better 'horn' here, as a signal of danger. See Amos iii. 6; Jer. vi. 1; Ezek. xxxiii. 3, 4.

[k] Either a synonym for 'blow the horn', or 'shout aloud'. See note on Zeph. i. 16.

Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble :
For the day of the LORD cometh [a],
For it is nigh at hand ;
A day of darkness and gloominess [b], 2
A day of clouds and thick darkness.

As the dawn spread upon the mountains [c] ;
A great people and a strong,
There hath not been ever the like,
Neither shall be any more after them,
Even to the years of many generations.
A fire [d] devoureth before them ; 3
And behind them a flame burneth :
The land is as the garden of Eden [e] before them,
And behind them a desolate wilderness [f] ;
Yea, and none hath escaped [g] them.

The appearance of them is as the appearance of 4
horses [h] ;
† [1] Or, *war-horses* And as [1] horsemen, so do they run.
Like the noise [i] of chariots on the tops of the 5
mountains do they leap,
Like the noise of a flame of fire [k] that devoureth the
stubble,

[a] See Introd., p. 64.

[b] Cf. Amos v. 18 ; Zeph. i. 15 ; Ezek. xxxiv. 12. This may be merely a figure of calamity ; but many writers allude to the darkening of the sky caused by a flight of locusts. 'It was so compact that, like an eclipse, it completely hid the sun' (quoted by Driver).

[c] This line is better taken with what follows. 'The allusion is probably to the glimmering brightness produced by the reflexion of the sun's rays from the wings of the locusts, which the prophet compares poetically to the early dawn as it first appears upon the mountains' (Driver). This has been noticed by Alvarez, who in his *Journey through Abyssinia* says how more than once he saw this glimmering lustre upon the mountains, like the unearthly light of dawn, heralding the approach of locusts.

[d] See note on i. 19.

[e] Cf. Ezek. xxviii. 13 ; xxxvi. 26–35.

[f] See iii. 19 and cf. Exod. x. 5.

[g] Better, 'escapeth'. Observers tell us that this is literally true, the locusts devouring not only leaves of shrubs, plants, and trees, but all soft vegetable matter that they can find.'

[h] A locust's head has some resemblance to that of a horse, hence the Germans call it a 'heupferd' (hay-horse), and the Italians 'caveletta' (little horse). Cf. Rev. ix. 7. Pusey quotes from an Arabic poem : 'In the locust is the face of a horse, the eyes of an elephant, the neck of a bull, the horns of a deer, the chest of a lion, the belly of a scorpion, the wings of an eagle, the thighs of a camel, the feet of an ostrich, the tail of a serpent.'

[i] This can be heard six miles away, and has been variously described as 'a great cataract', 'the crackling of a prairie fire', 'the dashing waters by a mill-wheel', and 'a strong wind blowing through the trees'. Cf. Rev. ix. 9.

[k] 'The sound of their feeding, when in swarms, is as the rushing of flames driven by the wind'. Newman, *History of Insects*, v. 1 (*Speaker's Commentary*).

As a strong people set in battle array.
6 At their presence the peoples are in anguish [a]:
All faces are waxed pale.

7 They run [b] like mighty men;
They climb the wall like men of war;
And they march every one on his ways,
And they break not their ranks [c].
8 Neither doth one thrust another;
They march every one in his path:
And [1] they burst through the weapons [d],
And [2] break not off *their course.*
9 They leap upon the city;
They run upon the wall;
They climb up into the houses;
They enter in at the windows like a thief.

[1] Or, *when they fall around the weapons, they &c.*
[2] Or, *are not wounded*

10 The earth quaketh [e] before them;
The heavens tremble:
The sun and the moon are darkened,
And the stars withdraw their shining:
11 And the LORD uttereth his voice [f] before his army [g];
For his camp is very great;
For he is strong that executeth his word:
For the day of the LORD is great and very terrible;
And who can abide it [h]?

A second call to repentance. ii. 12–17.

12 Yet even now, saith the LORD [i], turn ye unto me
with all your heart [k],

[a] 'The nations looking up with anxiety, lest they should cover their lands' (Pliny, *Nat. History*, quoted by Pusey). This paralysing despair is usual, for the destitution caused by a plague of locusts is often terrible. In 1866, 200,000 people in Algiers are said to have perished after a swarm.

[b] Cf. Nahum ii. 10. The meaning is somewhat uncertain. Gesenius translates, 'withdraw their colour'.

[c] 'They preserve an exact shape, just like the squares drawn on a tesselated pavement, not diverging even so much as a finger's breadth' (Jerome).

[d] All efforts to restrain them, whether by fire or water, or even the sword and the cannon, are perfectly useless.

[e] Here the invasion is probably idealised. Earthquake, storm, and eclipse are mentioned as accompanying terrors heralding the Day of Jehovah. See iii. 15; Isa. xiii. 10, 13; Hag. ii. 6.

[f] i. e. in thunder. See Ps. xxxix.

[g] See verse 25. The Arabs regard the tiny cross-lines on locusts' wings as letters which read, 'we are the army of the living God'; and one of their names for God is, 'Lord of the locusts'.

[h] See Jer. x. 10; Mal. iii. 2.

[i] Here, for the first time in the book, Jehovah evidently speaks for Himself. Cf. Jer. iv. 14, and see note on i. 6.

[k] This word is more frequently used in Hebrew to express the intellect (Hos. vii. 11) than, as with us, the affections: here it may express purpose and

And with fasting, and with weeping, and with
mourning:
And rend your heart, and not your garments [a], 13
And turn unto the LORD your God:
For he is gracious and full of compassion,
Slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy,
And repenteth him of the evil.
Who knoweth whether he will not turn and re- 14
pent [b], and leave a blessing [c] behind him,
Even a meal offering and a drink offering
Unto the LORD your God [d]?

Blow the trumpet [e] in Zion, 15
Sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly:
Gather the people, sanctify the congregation, 16
[1] Or, *elders* Assemble the [1] old men, gather the children,
And those that suck the breasts:
Let the bridegroom go forth of his chamber,
And the bride out of her closet [f].
Let the priests, the ministers of the LORD, weep 17
between the porch and the altar [g],
And let them say, Spare thy people, O LORD,
And give not thine heritage to reproach,
[2] Or, *use a byword against them* That the nations should [2] rule over them:
Wherefore should they say among the peoples,
Where is their God [h]?

A promise of restored fertility. ii. 18–27.

Then was the LORD jealous for his land, and had 18

resolve. See Deut. vi. 5, &c. 'This is the true keynote of spiritual worship, fitly prefixed to the public prayers of the most western Churches as the warning that even the most passionate expressions of external devotion are nothing unless the intention of the heart goes with them' (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, ii. 375).

[a] Frequently referred to as a sign of grief (Gen. xxxvii. 29, 34; xliv. 13, &c.).

[b] The threats of a prophet should always be regarded as conditional, and might be averted by penitence. See Hos. xiv. 1; Jer. xlii. 10; Jonah iii. 10.

[c] i.e. fruitful seasons. Deut. vii. 13; xvi. 10, 15, 17, &c.

[d] See note on i. 9.

[e] Not now as an alarm, as in ii. 1, but as a summons to a religious assembly.

[f] Better, 'pavilion', the reference being to the nuptial tent specially used on the occasion. See Ps. xix. 5. Cf. Isa. iv. 5. 'To build over her a tent' is a common expression among the Arabs for marrying. (See Driver.)

[g] This was the space in the inner court (1 Kings vi. 36) or court of the priests, between the entrance (1 Kings vi. 8) of the sanctuary and the brazen altar of burnt-offering, which stood outside where the Dome of the Rock in the Temple area now stands. Cf. St. Matt. xxiii. 35.

[h] Lest their abandonment by God should become a proverb among the heathen. Cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 20; Ps. xlii. 10; lxxix. 10; cxv. 2.

19 pity on his people [a]. And the LORD answered and said unto his people,

Behold, I will send you corn, and wine, and oil,
And ye shall be satisfied therewith:
And I will no more make you a reproach among the nations:

20 But I will remove far off from you the northern [b] *army*,
And will drive him into a land barren and desolate [c],
[1] His forepart [2] into the eastern sea,
And his hinder part [2] into the western sea [d];
And his stink shall come up,
And his ill savour shall come up [e],
Because he hath done great things [f].

[1] Or, *With his forepart*
[2] Or, *toward*

21 Fear not, O land, be glad and rejoice;
For the LORD hath done great [g] things.

22 Be not afraid, ye beasts of the field;
For the pastures of the wilderness [h] do spring,
For the tree beareth her fruit,
The fig tree and the vine do yield their strength.

23 Be glad then, ye children of Zion,
And rejoice in the LORD your God:
For he giveth you the former rain [3] in just measure [i],
And he causeth to come down for you the rain,

[3] Or, *in* (or *for*) *righteousness*

[a] See Zech. i. 14; viii. 2. The fast having been, so it is implied, duly and sincerely kept, Jehovah's promise of mercy (19–32) follows.

[b] This is regarded as the *crux interpretum* of the book, for locusts almost always invade Palestine from the S. or SE., and yet a NE. wind may have brought them on this occasion. On the other hand, Israel's foes generally came from the North (see notes on Zeph. ii. 13; Jer. i. 13; xv. 12). Several commentators, therefore, have supposed that all along, or at any rate in ch. ii, Joel has a real army in his mind, which he is describing under the figure of a swarm of locusts. But see Introd., p. 64. The difficulty has been got over by others by suggesting unnatural renderings or different readings of the word 'northern'. Thus Reuss 'the devastator'; Ewald, 'the infernal one'; others again 'the marshalled one'. But the whole verse may be only an allegorizing gloss, the removal of which leaves the argument of the prophet intact.

[c] i.e. the wilderness of Judaea.

[d] The Dead Sea and the Mediterranean. Winds often drive locust swarms into the sea. Cf. Exod. x. 19.

[e] Locusts cast up by the sea have been said to make a bank three or four feet high and fifty miles long, the pestilential odours of which must be horrible beyond description (Pusey).

[f] The locust, great in his mighty deeds, might rightly expect a great death, but Jehovah in destroying him had also done a mighty deed (ver. 21).

[g] See previous note.

[h] The pastures of the steppes devastated by the locust.

[i] Lit. 'according to righteousness' (cf. Hos. x. 12), i.e. as His righteousness prompts Him to give it (cf. Isa. xlii. 6; xlv. 8), or when it is due. (See Driver.)

† [1] Or, *at the first*

The former rain and the latter rain [a], [1] in the first [b] *month*.
And the floors shall be full of wheat, 24
And the fats shall overflow with wine and oil.
[2] See ch. i. 4.
And I will restore to you the years [c] that [2] the 25
locust hath eaten,
The cankerworm, and the caterpiller, and the palmerworm,
My great army [d] which I sent among you.
And ye shall eat in plenty and be satisfied, 26
And shall praise the name of the LORD your God,
That hath dealt wondrously with you:
And my people shall never be ashamed.
And ye shall know that I am in the midst of Israel, 27
And that I am the LORD your God, and there is none else [e]:
And my people shall never be ashamed [f].

A promise of the Divine Spirit [g]. ii. 28–29.

[Ch. iii. 1 in Heb.] [i]
And it shall come to pass afterward [h], 28
That I will pour out my spirit [i] upon all flesh [k];

[a] See note on Jer. iii. 3, and cf. Lev. xxvi. 4; Deut. xi. 14. This promise confirms the view that drought was referred to in i. 19, 20.

[b] Better, read with LXX, 'as before', i.e. before the double calamity of locusts and drought.

[c] Locust ravages do not usually extend beyond one year. Hitzig explains it as years of famine caused by a single swarm. But a succession of swarms seems suggested by i. 4.

[d] See note on verse 11.

[e] Cf. Ezek. vi. 7, 10, 13, 14, &c.; Isa. xlv. 5.

[f] Cf. Zeph. iii. 11; Isa. xxix. 22; xlv. 17; liv. 4.

[g] The transition in these two verses from the natural to the spiritual is very beautiful. The application of the passage to the coming of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost (Acts ii. 17–21) shews that the fulfilment of prophecy is seen less in identity of form than in the facts of Divine manifestation. 'Joel's words—like Jer. xxxi. 33, 34, for instance—look rather to that fuller illumination to be enjoyed *in general* by God's people in the future, which is to be a characteristic of the Christian Church throughout the ages; they are "not a prediction of the *event* of Pentecost, but of the new order of things of which Pentecost was the first great example"' (Davidson, quoted by Driver).

[h] Probably Joel anticipated that the spiritual blessings would follow immediately upon the material blessings of verses 21–26, grateful hearts would be more ready to welcome Jehovah's spiritual gifts. On the foreshortening of time so often observable in the Prophets see note on Hag. ii. 6.

[i] This word has hardly here the connotation which the equivalent Greek word has either in the New Testament or in Christian literature. It is rather 'the conscious vital force peculiar to God, which, as proceeding from Him, is the power which creates and sustains the life of created beings (Gen. i. 2; Job xxxiii. 4; Ps. civ. 30), and to the operation of which are attributed extraordinary faculties and activities of man, as well as supernatural gifts. See Gen. xli. 33; Exod. xxxi. 3; Num. xi. 17; Judges xi. 29; 1 Sam. xi. 6; Mic. iii. 8; Isa. xi. 2; lix. 21; lxi. 1; Ezek. xxxvi. 27; Hag. ii. 5; Zech. vii. 12; xii. 10; Neh. ix. 20; Ps. li. 11, &c.' (Driver).

[k] i.e. all classes and both sexes (cf. Num. xi. 29; Ezek. xxxix. 29). As

And your sons and your daughters shall prophesy,
Your old men shall dream dreams,
Your young men shall see visions [a]:
29 And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids
In those days will I pour out my spirit.

II. THE GREAT AND TERRIBLE DAY OF THE LORD. ii. 30—iii. 8.

The Judgement is preceded by natural wonders. ii. 30–31.

30 And I will shew wonders [b] in the heavens and in the earth,
Blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke.
31 The sun shall be turned into darkness,
And the moon into blood,
Before the great and terrible day of the LORD come.

The deliverance of the penitent. ii. 32.

32 And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the LORD [c] shall be delivered:
For in mount Zion and in Jerusalem there shall be those that escape,
As the LORD hath said,
And [1] among the remnant [d]
Those whom the LORD doth call.

[1] Or, *in the remnant whom &c.*

Joel depicts the destruction of the Gentiles (iii. 2, 9–17) he here includes Israel only. The word, without reading into it its fuller connotation as used by St. Paul (Gal. v. 16–21, &c.), suggests perhaps the natural man, who was to be transformed into the spiritual man.

[a] Hebrew parallelism forbids our making too minute a distinction between 'dreams' and 'visions'. Joel's chief point is that old and young would alike have the power of prophecy.

[b] The earthly portents intended are probably wars and conflagrations of cities, and the celestial probably eclipses and atmospheric disturbances caused by sandstorms, cyclones, &c. Cf. Amos viii. 9; Isa. xiii. 10; Ezek. xxxii. 7; Matt. xxiv. 29; Luke xxi. 10, 11; Rev. vi. 12–14.

[c] This phrase is used of worship generally (see Gen. iv. 26; xii. 8; xiii. 4; xxi. 33; xxvi. 25), but here more particularly of prayer for deliverance from trouble as in Ps. cxvi. 4. Cf. Ps. l. 15; xci. 15; Jer. xxix. 12.

[d] Here is an example of inverted parallelism, this word 'remnant' and 'those that escape' both meaning those who would survive the impending calamity. Cf. Joshua viii. 22, where the two words are used synonymously. The conditions were that they should call upon Jehovah and be called by Jehovah. The preposition 'among' does not necessarily imply that only part of the remnant are called, but may reasonably, according to Hebrew usage, mean that all are called. It is as though Joel had said, 'In Zion there shall be those that escape, and those whom the Lord doth call shall be a remnant.'

The punishment of Phoenicia and Philistia for their crimes against God's people. iii. 1–8.

[Ch. iv. 1 in Heb.] For, behold, in those days [a], and in that time, 3
When I shall bring again the captivity [b] of Judah and Jerusalem,
I will gather all nations, 2
[1] See ver. 12. And will bring them down into [1] the valley of Jehoshaphat [c];
And I will plead [d] with them there
For my people and for my heritage Israel,
Whom they have scattered among the nations [e],
And parted [f] my land.
And they have cast lots for my people: 3
And have given a boy for an harlot,
And sold a girl for wine,
That they might drink [g].
Yea, and what are ye to me [h], O Tyre, and Zidon, 4

[a] i. e. in the time of deliverance just mentioned (ii. 32), which will be brought about by the judgement upon the Gentiles now about to be described.

[b] This may be nothing more than a technical expression for reversing the calamity or for restoring the fortunes of the people. See Amos ix. 14; Ps. xiv. 7; Job xlii. 10; Ezek. xvi. 53. Not improbably the word 'when', which very closely resembles the next word, is an accidental insertion, and we should read, 'that I will bring . . . and I will gather'.

[c] Where this was is not known, except that it was evidently in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (see ii. 32). It may have been the Kedron valley, which separates Mount Olivet from that city. Because of this passage the Jews have a strong desire to be buried here, while Moslems point to a massive stone jutting out of the eastern wall of the Temple area, which overlooks this valley, as the place on which Mohammed will sit to judge the whole world gathered in the glen below (see Koran 81). But the tradition that Joel meant the Kedron valley is late, and is very possibly derived from the Koran. Since, however, the Kedron valley is a narrow ravine or wady, whereas the word 'valley' here means a wider depression, suitable for cornfields or a battle, some commentators think that Joel refers to the valley Beracah in which Jehoshaphat assembled the nation after his victory over the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites (2 Chron. xx. 26), and which is not far from the Kedron valley.

[d] i. e. contend as a litigant, with the further idea of punishment (see Isa. iii. 13, 14). The word is *shāphat*, which explains the prophet's choice of the scene of judgement.

[e] This presupposes a large Jewish dispersion. See Introd., p. 61, and cf. Ezek. xi. 17; xii. 15; xx. 34, 41; xxii. 15; xxviii. 25; xxxvi. 10.

[f] i. e. divided among the aliens. Cf. Amos vii. 17; Mic. ii. 4, where see notes.

[g] The unhappy Jewish captive children were bartered (see notes on Nah. iii. 10; Obad. 11) to obtain means for debauchery and carousal.

[h] That I should not punish you. The old and ever-present foes of Israel are singled out, and not Assyria or Chaldaea, which as nationalities had presumably long ceased to exist (see Introd., p. 61). Both Phoenicia and Philistia were engaged in the slave trade from the time of Amos (see Amos i. 6), and Gaza is said to have continued to be an emporium for slaves as late as the period of Roman domination.

And all the regions of Philistia?

[1] Will ye render me a recompence [a]?
And if ye recompense me, swiftly and speedily will
I return your [2] recompence upon your own head [b].
5 Forasmuch as ye have taken my silver and my gold,
And have carried into your temples [c] my goodly
pleasant things;
6 The children also of Judah and the children of
Jerusalem have ye sold unto the sons of the
Grecians [d],
That ye might remove them far from their border [e]:
7 Behold, I will stir them up out of the place
whither ye have sold them,
And will return your [2] recompence upon your own
head [f];
8 And I will sell your sons and your daughters into
the hand of the children of Judah,
And they shall sell them to the men of Sheba [g],
To a nation far off:
For the LORD hath spoken it.

[1] Or, *Will ye repay a deed of mine, or will ye do aught unto me? swiftly &c.*
[2] Or, *deed*

III. THE CONFLICT OF THE NATIONS WITH JEHOVAH'S PEOPLE AND ITS ISSUE. iii. 9–21.

The heathen are summoned to battle against the hosts of God. iii. 9–12.

9 Proclaim ye this among the nations;
[3] Prepare [h] war:
Stir up the mighty men;
Let all the men of war draw near,
Let them come up.
10 Beat your plowshares into swords [i],

[3] Heb. *Sanctify.*†

[a] Do you seek to pay ME out by ill-treating My people? The Phoenicians' commercial greed was, like that of many modern traders (as e.g. in the Congo, Mexico, &c.), unrestrained by any moral consideration.
[b] In accordance with the principle of the *lex talionis*. See note on Hag. i. 11.
[c] Probably palaces are meant (see Isa. vi. 1; xiii. 22), to which many valuables (1 Kings xx. 6, 7; Isa. lxiv. 11; Lam. i. 10, 11) of the Jews had been taken.
[d] See note on Zech. ix. 13 and p. 82. Syrian slaves were common among the Greeks in the fifth century B.C. See *Encycl. Britann.* (11th edition), xv. p. 429.
[e] They took a malicious delight in driving them from their homes.
[f] See note on verse 4.
[g] An important trading people in Arabia Felix. See note on Jer. vi. 20.
[h] It was customary to open a campaign with sacrificial rites. See 1 Sam. vii. 8, 9. Cf. Isa. xiii. 3; Mic. iii. 5; Jer. vi. 4; xxii. 7; li. 27–28.
[i] The prophet deliberately reverses the beautiful promise of Isa. ii. 4; Mic. iv. 3. The Syrian plough consisted of a crooked piece of wood, armed with an iron point or share; to this was attached, at one end, a single handle for the

And your pruninghooks into spears :
Let the weak say, I am strong [a].
[1] Haste ye, and come, all ye nations round about, 11
And gather yourselves together :
Thither [b] cause thy mighty ones to come down, O LORD.
Let the nations bestir themselves, and come up to 12
the valley of [2] Jehoshaphat :
For there will I sit to judge all the nations round about.

[1] Or, *Assemble yourselves*

† [2] That is, *The* LORD *judgeth.*

Their dreadful overthrow through the storm of Jehovah's wrath. iii. 13–16a.

Put ye in the sickle, 13
For the [3] harvest [c] is ripe.
Come, [4] tread ye ;
For the winepress is full,
The fats [d] overflow ;
For their wickedness is great.
Multitudes, multitudes [e] in the valley of decision [f] ! 14
For the day of the LORD is near in the valley of decision.
The sun and the moon are darkened, 15
And the stars withdraw their shining [g].
And the LORD shall roar from Zion, 16
And utter his voice from Jerusalem [h] ;
And the heavens and the earth shall shake :

[3] Or, *vintage*

[4] Or, *get you down*

man to guide it, and at the other, a pole to which the yoke for the oxen was fastened. Swords could be used to point the ploughs (Isa. ii. 4) and the iron point or share could be converted into a weapon in time of battle.

[a] Even the puny will be affected with martial enthusiasm. See next note.

[b] This clause, in which Jehovah is suddenly urged to bring His heavenly hosts to contend with the assembled nations, strangely interrupts the context, and is inconsistent with verses 15–16, where Jehovah discomfits the enemy not with the help of the heavenly hosts, but by the storm. LXX is probably right in reading 'the gentle becomes a mighty man', thus connecting it with the preceding clause, and making it a parallel to the last clause of verse 10.

[c] Harvest and vintage are symbols of the great Judgement. Cf. Rev. xiv. 15–20 ; Matt. xiii. 30–39.

[d] See note on Hag. ii. 16.

[e] 'The Hebrew term is more picturesque than the English one, and suggests the confused noise or hum of a great throng' (Driver).

[f] An ideal name for the valley of Jehovah's judgement (see note on ver. 2), where the issues will be determined. Cf. Isa. x. 22, 23.

[g] Preternatural signs of Jehovah's wrath. See ii. 10, 31. Cf. Isa. xiii. 10 ; Ezek. xxxii. 7 ; Matt. xxiv. 29, and note on Isa. xxiv. 21.

[h] Probably taken verbatim (but see Introd., p. 63, note 3) from Amos i. 2, where see note. It is assumed that the nations are destroyed in the storm and earthquake.

Zion's security and fertility through Jehovah's abiding presence. iii. 16b–21.

But the LORD will be a refuge unto his people,
And a strong hold to the children of Israel.
17 So shall ye know that I am the LORD your God [a],
Dwelling in Zion my holy mountain:
Then shall Jerusalem be holy [b],
And there shall no strangers pass through her any more [c].
18 And it shall come to pass in that day,
That the mountains shall drop down sweet wine [d],
And the hills shall flow with milk,
And all the brooks of Judah shall flow with waters;
And a fountain shall come forth of the house of the LORD [e],
And shall water [1] the valley of Shittim [f].
19 Egypt [g] shall be a desolation,
And Edom shall be a desolate wilderness,
For the violence done [h] to the children of Judah,
Because they have shed innocent blood [i] in their land.
20 But Judah shall [2] abide for ever,
And Jerusalem from generation to generation.
21 And I will [3] cleanse their blood [k] that I have not cleansed:
For the LORD dwelleth in Zion [l].

[1] That is, *the valley of acacias.*†

[2] Or, *be inhabited*

[3] Or, *hold as innocent*

[a] Cf. ii. 27; Ezek. vi. 7, 10, 14, &c.

[b] i. e. inviolable. No enemy, like those who had desecrated it (Obad. 14, 16), should again pass through Jerusalem. Cf. Nah. i. 15; Isa. lii. 1; Zech. ix. 8; xiv. 21, &c. Rev. xxii. 15.

[c] Later Jews laid great stress on the purity of the land which would characterize the Messianic age. Cf. Psalms of Solomon xvii. 31; Book of Jubilees xxiii. 30; l. 5.

[d] Based on Amos ix. 13, where see note. See Introd., p. 63, note 3.

[e] See notes on Ezek. xlvii. 1–12; Zech. xiv. 8, and cf. Rev. xxii. 1.

[f] A wady or gorge of acacias, a tree that grows in very dry soil. Although some think that the well-known valley of Moab (Num. xxvi, xxxiii. 1, 49; cf. Mic. vi. 5) is meant, and that so the stain and shame of Baal Peor would be washed away, it is more probably the winding gorge (the continuation of the Kedron valley) which threads its way across the wilderness of Judaea to the shores of the Dead Sea, the lowest level of the earth's surface.

[g] Egypt, which held Israel in bondage, and Edom, ever her implacable foe (see Obad. Introd., vol. iii. pp. 2, 3), are probably mentioned as typical examples of Israel's enemies. Older unfulfilled prophecies (Isa. xxxiv. 9, 10; xix. 5, 6; Ezek. xxix. 9–12; xxxv. 3–15) are evidently in the prophet's mind.

[h] Cf. Obad. 10.

[i] Possibly in allusion to some massacre of Jews in these countries.

[k] By this punishment of the Egyptian and Edomite murderers (see ver. 19) Jehovah shews that the Jewish blood shed was innocent and has been avenged. But we should probably read, with LXX, 'And I will seek out their blood,' i.e. their murder (cf. 2 Sam. iv. 11), 'and will not declare it innocent'; i. e. I will avenge it.

[l] Cf. verse 17; Ezek. xlviii. 35; Obad. 21, &c.

ZECHARIAH. ix—xiv[1]

INTRODUCTION

THERE are perhaps no critical questions connected with O. T. literature more perplexing and difficult than those which surround these chapters. Two things, however, may be regarded as practically certain.

1. These chapters have nothing in them, either in style or contents, to suggest any connexion with Zech. i—viii[1]. There is, for example, an entire absence in them of any reference to Zerubbabel, Joshua, or the rebuilding of the Temple, which are the oft-repeated topics of the earlier prophecy. There are no visions such as occur frequently in that book, nor is there, as we find there, one single clearly defined purpose throughout.

2. *If these chapters are homogeneous*, they undoubtedly point as a whole to a post-exilic date, and probably a late date in the post-exilic period. This is proved by the apocalyptic character of the prophecy of ch. xiv, the contempt for the Prophetic office (xiii. 1-6), and above all by the mention of the Greeks as the great Power against which the Jews were contending, or shortly to contend (ix. 13). Furthermore, the very frequent references to Jewish ritual (ix. 15; xi. 13; xii. 2; xiv. 16-21) are especially suited to a time when the religious worship of the Second Temple had been reorganized, as it appears to have been in the time of Nehemiah[2].

On the other hand, several very reasonable arguments have been advanced which seem to point to a diametrically opposite conclusion. Such are the frequent references to Ephraim as distinct from Judah (ix. 10, 13; x. 6–7 [if not ver. 10], xi. 14), the mention of Assyria and Egypt as the special places of exile, and the promised restoration of exiles to Gilead and Lebanon in x. 10–11; cf. Hos. vii. 16; ix. 3, 6; xi. 5, 11, passages which seem to refer to a recent exile and expected return of the Northern Kingdom only; moreover the references to teraphim[3] as a means of divination (see note on Hos. iii. 4). It will be evident at once that these

[1] For Zech. i—viii see pp. 15–41.

[2] It has also been pointed out that ix. 11, x. 6–9 presuppose the exile at any rate of Israel. But we certainly have a pre-exilic parallel in Isa. xi. 11–13 (cf. also Deut. xxviii. 25, 64–68). The supposed antagonism between Judah and Jerusalem which these chapters are said to exhibit (but see notes on xii. 2; xiv. 14) cannot in any case be fairly pressed as an argument for a post-exilic date, because we know otherwise of no such antagonism either before or after the Exile.

[3] It is of course possible, though not very likely, that this probably Canaanitish custom continued in post-exilic times.

arguments for a pre-exilic date are entirely drawn from chs. ix—xi, whereas those for a post-exilic date given above are, with one notable exception—the mention of the Greeks in ix. 13—almost entirely taken from chs. xii—xiv. Hence the older critics maintained that we have in ix—xiv two originally distinct prophecies, (1) ix—xi, to which xiii. 7–9 is usually added, and (2) xii, xiii. 1–6 and xiv, the first pre-exilic and the second post-exilic. The one great objection to this view lies in the exception mentioned above. If ix. 1–12 stood by itself, critics would probably have no hesitation in assigning it to an early age. The glorious song of Messianic welcome closely resembles, in its jubilant exultation and message of peace, the great Messianic promise of Isa. ix. 1–7. Much the same is true also of Zech. x. Again ch. xi, while singularly quaint, and it may almost be said unique, has much of the force and vigour of a Jeremiah or an Ezekiel. Taking all these factors into consideration the choice seems to lie between three alternatives :—

1. To suppose that chs. ix—xiv are a collection of independent prophecies or fragments of different dates, brought together by an editor with some degree of literary skill. In favour of this hypothesis it might be suggested that ix. 13–17, describing a great battle under Jehovah's guidance against the Greeks, comes in rather strangely just after the establishment of the reign of peace by the Messiah in ix. 9, 10; that ch. xiv, in which Jerusalem is taken and half its population made captives before the final deliverance, gives a very different picture of the siege of the capital from ch. xii, wherein the enemy are apparently defeated before the city; and again that x. 1–2, xi. 1–3 have the appearance of fragments, bearing as they do no obvious connexion with their context.

2. That the writer of ix—xiv has incorporated older prophecies into a later work. We have parallel examples to this in the adoption by Isaiah (ii. 1–3) and probably by Micah also (iv. 1–3) of the prophecy of the mountain of the LORD'S house, and by Isaiah and Jeremiah of an ancient oracle against Moab (Isa. xv—xvi. 12; Jer. xlviii), and many other similar cases occur in the Prophets (see notes on Obadiah, Introd., p. 2; Jer. xlix. 7; Isa. lvii. 13b–21).

3. That the writer of these chapters has intentionally imitated older writers and adopted their terms of expression with, in some cases, new meanings.[1] According to this view, by Assyrian (x. 10)

[1] This is the view of Wellhausen and Ryle: 'Egypt and Assyria (x. 10, 11) must be taken to represent the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms, which together made up for the Jews the empire of the sons of Javan' (*Encycl. Britann.*, 11th edition, vol. xxviii. p. 964). The Jews transferred to these new oppressors the names of their former tyrants. 'Ptolemy', says Dr. G. A. Smith, 'was Egypt to them; Seleucus, with one of his capitals at Babylon, was still Assyria, from which came in time the abbreviated form of Syria' (*The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii. p. 443).

the writer means Israel's present oppressors, especially the Seleucidae[1], by Ephraim[2] (*passim*, see above) the Jews scattered throughout the world (Diaspora).

It is almost impossible to decide with absolute conviction between these three alternatives, and it is probable that the truth may lie between them. On a question of such great difficulty, and not after all very great importance, it is perhaps best to maintain a spirit of healthy agnosticism.

Supposing that we are right in thinking that the way in which the Greeks are spoken of in ix. 13 warrants us in assigning the work as a whole to the period of Greek ascendancy that followed the conquests of Alexander (333), it is still impossible, with any degree of certainty, to connect the details of the prophecy (or prophecies) with any known historical incidents. This is partly because we know so little of the history of this period[3], partly because the writers, at any rate in ch. xiv, drew highly symbolical and imaginative pictures of an eschatological character, which apparently had little connexion with current events. This, however, may be said, that the disturbed state of the country generally, consequent on the rivalry between Syria and Egypt, the siege of Tyre first by Alexander (332), and afterwards by Antigonus (314), the reduction of Gaza by both these generals, the frequent attacks on different parts of Palestine, including in some cases the capital itself, the growing power of the Priesthood, the increasing tyranny of the Syrians, which culminated in the outrages of Antiochus Epiphanes (see Daniel, Introd., p. 122), the rivalries of political and religious parties in Palestine, all these formed suitable occasions for one or more prophecies in this book.

When we consider the great influence of Grecian culture on later Jewish literature, and its even greater influence on Christian philosophy and Christian art, it is of interest to note in this book the first real clashing of 'thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece'[4]

[1] Driver compares the use or misuse of the term by the Chronicler in Ezra vi. 22.

[2] The special allusion to the breach of friendship between Israel and Judah in xi. 14 is explained by some commentators (reading with two MSS. of LXX Jerusalem for 'Israel') of the supposed quarrel between Judaea and Jerusalem (see notes on xii. 2; xiv. 14).

[3] For example, we have no satisfactory clue to the cutting off of three shepherds in one month in xi. 8, or the murdered ruler (?) in xii. 10.

[4] Ezekiel (xxvii. 13) makes the earliest mention of the Greeks (Javan). He speaks of them among many other peoples with whom Tyre had commercial relations. In Isa. lxvi. 19 they are again mentioned as a far distant people that has not hitherto known the mighty acts of Jehovah. They occur again in the ethnological lists of Gen. x (vers. 2, 4) together with Cyprus (Kittim) and Rhodes (Dodanim, read with LXX Rodanim. See note on Ezek. xxvii. 15). Even so late as the time of Joel (400 B.C.?) Greece seems known to the Jews only as a market in which the Phoenicians sold

(ix. 13). It is one of the greatest facts of human history that the Greek genius which was so utterly opposed, as it seemed, to all that was best and noblest in Judaism, and produced at first an antagonism that aroused the splendid patriotism of the Maccabees, should have eventually been absorbed into, and have leavened the religion which thereby became more fitted to be the faith of the civilised world.

Thus Israel, which had already proved itself somewhat susceptible to Persian religious thought (see Zechariah, Introd., p. 17)[1], was now to begin to feel the much more powerful and more far-reaching influences of the intellectual and aesthetic qualities of Greece. We can trace the first steps of this influence in the rise of the Hellenistic party of the Sadducees, perhaps again in the Book of Ecclesiastes, and certainly in the Wisdom literature of the Apocrypha, and, partly through the influence of Philo, in most of the Books of the N.T. Chiefly through the Alexandrian school, Greek thought became the heritage of Christianity.

If we should be disposed to complain (and there is certainly some justification for the complaint) that the work as a whole is of baser metal than the other prophetic books[2], let us not forget that there is one passage at least of the purest gold. It may be true that the Prophet has in the glorious Messianic hymn of ix. 9, 10 combined the conceptions of a greater forerunner (Isa. ix. 1–7 and xi. 1–9), but there is a delightful ring of joy and triumph which gives this passage a distinct character of its own, and makes it at once the suitable key-note of the great Advent teaching of the Kingdom of God, and by its association with Palm Sunday cheers the gloom of Holy Week with the splendid thought that Christ is reigning from the Tree'.

Jewish slaves (Joel iii. 6). It was Alexander the Great who first by his conquests (334 B.C.) brought Asia in contact with the inward culture of Greece. Hitherto the Jews knew only as great world-powers Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, whose whole strength lay only in outward force. In Greece they came in touch with a nation mighty in its exquisite refinement of artistic skill and subtlety of intellect. There was also this further contrast between the two. The ancient empires of the East had from time to time deported the people of Palestine to their own lands. The Greeks, on the other hand, may be said by their victories and colonies to have brought Greece to Palestine, which soon became the battlefield of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids who, though rivals, were of the same Greek race.

[1] Cf. p. 120, note 4.

[2] 'In Zech. ix–xiv', says Dr. G. A. Smith, 'we see prophecy perhaps at its lowest ebb. The clash with the new foes produces a really terrible thirst for the blood of the heathen: there are schisms and intrigues within Israel which, in our ignorance of her history during this time, it is not possible for us to follow: the brighter gleams which contrast so forcibly with the rest, may be more ancient oracles that the writer has incorporated with his own stern and dark apocalypse' (*The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 446).

ZECHARIAH. ix—xiv

I. THE FIRST BURDEN. ix—xi. See also xiii. 7–9.

THE GLORY OF THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM IN CONTRAST TO THE PRESENT UNREST.

I. THE REIGN OF THE MESSIAH. ix—x. 2.

Judgement on the enemies of Zion. ix. 1–7.

† [1] Or, *oracle*

[2] Or, *the* LORD *hath an eye upon men and upon all the tribes of Israel*

[3] Or, *though*

9 The [1] burden [a] of the word of the LORD upon the land of Hadrach [b], and Damascus *shall be* its resting place [c]: for [2] the eye of man [d] and of all the tribes of
2 Israel is toward the LORD: and Hamath [e] also which bordereth thereon:

Tyre and Zidon, [3] because she is [f] very wise.
3 And Tyre did build herself a strong hold,
And heaped up silver as the dust,
And fine gold as the mire of the streets.
4 Behold, the Lord will dispossess her,

N.B. An obelus (†) *attached to a marginal note shews that the alternative rendering or reading is preferred, or calls attention to some other important point.*

[a] This title—'the oracle of Jehovah's word'—occurs only here, xii. 1, and Mal. i. 1. It is possible that the compiler of the Book of the Twelve (as the Minor Prophets were called), having reached the end of Zechariah proper (i–viii), found himself with three (or only two, see Introd., pp. 81, 82; cf. p. 42) anonymous prophecies. As the first (Zech. ix–xi; xiii. 7–9) had this title, it was given, it is supposed, by the compiler to the other two (xii, xiii. 16—xiv) and Malachi.

[b] The capital of a region of Syria, mentioned as of some importance by the Assyrian records of the eighth cent. B.C. See note on Amos vi. 2.

[c] Better 'His, i.e. Jehovah's, abode' (see next note). The word is used of peaceful habitation as in Deut. xii. 9; Ps. xcv. 11. All the places here mentioned are His, and follow the natural course of eastern conquerors passing through Syria, Phoenicia, and Philistia, on their way to Egypt.

[d] We should probably read 'Jehovah hath an eye upon Syria and upon all the tribes of Israel', reading *Aram* (Syria) for *Adam* (man). d and r are almost identical in Hebrew. Both Syria and Israel were under Jehovah's Providence, and He would see that right was done between them. Klostermann, Marti, &c., propose to read 'Jehovah's are the cities of the heathen and all the tribes of Israel'.

[e] About 120 miles north of Damascus, on which it 'bordereth'. See notes on Amos vi. 2, and Isa. xi. 11.

[f] LXX reads 'they were'. The 'wisdom' consisted in their military and commercial strength (v. 3). Cf. Ezek. xxviii. 3–17. The wisdom thus shewn was a reason for Jehovah to exercise His powers.

And he will smite [1] her power in the sea [a],
And she shall be devoured with fire.

[1] Or, *the sea which is her rampart*

5 Ashkelon shall see it, and fear;
Gaza also, and shall be sore pained;
And Ekron, for her expectation shall be ashamed [b];
And the king shall perish from Gaza,
And Ashkelon shall not be inhabited.

Or, *her rampart into the sea* †

6 And [2] a bastard [c] shall [3] dwell in Ashdod,
And I will cut off the pride of the Philistines.

[2] Or, *a bastard race* †

7 And I will take away his blood out of his mouth,
And his abominations from between his teeth [d];
And he also shall be a remnant for our God:
And he shall be as a chieftain [e] in Judah,
And Ekron as a Jebusite.

[3] Or, *sit* as king

Jehovah will defend His Temple. ix. 8.

8 And I will encamp about mine house [f] [4] against the army,
That none pass through or return:
And no [5] oppressor shall pass through them any more:
For now have I seen with mine eyes [g].

[4] Or, as otherwise read, *as a garrison*

[5] Or, *exactor*

[a] 'The scene of her pride was to be that of her overthrow; the waves which girt her round should bury her ruins and wash over her site' (Pusey). See note on Ezek. xxvi. 14. The allusion is to the situation of Tyre on an island some 700 paces from the mainland. Alexander captured it after a seven months' siege; and after killing or selling as slaves most of its inhabitants, he burnt the city, 322 B.C. See Introd., p. 82. But the overthrow of Tyre was a favourite subject of early prophecy. See Amos i. 9, 10; Isa. xxiii; Jer. xxv. 22; xxvii. 3; Ezek. xxvii—xxviii.

[b] Her hope that Phoenicia would check the invader would be disappointed.

[c] Half-breeds; mixed and ignoble populations.

[d] The allusion is to the heathen sacrifices which (unlike the Hebrew practice, Gen. ix. 4; 1 Sam. xiv. 32, 33; Lev. xvii. 10–14, &c.) were eaten 'with the blood'. See Ezek. xxxiii. 25. They are called abominations either because they were ceremonially unclean, like the swine, the mouse, &c. (cf. Isa. lxvi. 17), or because sacrificed to an idol.

[e] We should probably point this word as *Eleph*, 'a thousand', i.e. a family (cf. Mic. v. 2; Matt. ii. 6), not as *Alluph*, lit. 'a captain or ruler of a thousand'. The remnant of the Philistines would have a status as one of the families of Israel, and Ekron would become recognised, just as the remnant of the Jebusites had become recognised, as part of the holy people. Some, however, explain Jebusite as here merely an archaism for Jerusalemite (see 2 Sam. v. 6).

[f] i.e. the Temple.

[g] The oppression and iniquity done to My people. See note on verse 1 and cf. Exod. iii. 7; Ps. x. 14.

The advent of the King of Peace [a]. ix. 9–10.

Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion [b]; 9
Shout, O daughter of Jerusalem:
Behold, thy king cometh unto thee:
He is just, and [1] having [2] salvation [c];
Lowly, and riding upon an ass [d],
Even upon a colt the foal of an ass.

[1] Heb. *saved.*
[2] Or, *victory*

And I [e] will cut off the chariot [f] from Ephraim, 10
And the horse from Jerusalem,
And the battle bow shall be cut off;
And he shall speak peace unto the nations:
And his dominion shall be from sea to sea [g],
And from [3] the River to the ends of the earth.

[3] See Ex. xxiii. 31.

The captives are to return to their home [h]. ix. 11–12.

As for thee [i] also, because of the blood of thy 11
covenant [k] I have sent forth thy prisoners out of
the pit wherein is no water [l].

[a] For the connexion of this passage with the Gospel story see Introd., p. 83.

[b] The inhabitants personified. See Zeph. iii. 14.

[c] Lit. 'saved', i.e. under Divine protection. It cannot mean having salvation for others. For the justice of His rule cf. Isa. xi. 3–5.

[d] This signifies at once the lowliness and the peacefulness of the King's character. The ass was the animal ridden on by princes and the high-born, in olden times before the importation of horses, the animal of war and regal state (cf. Gen. xlix. 10, 11; Judges v. 10; x. 4; with 1 Kings x. 26–29). This prophecy was fulfilled, probably intentionally, by our Lord, as a claim to the Messiahship (Mark xi. 1–10; John xii. 15, &c.). 'But, as in other cases, the prophet's ideal as a whole, in the form in which he projected it, has never been fulfilled: for the picture drawn by him is not that of a *spiritual ruler*, swaying the hearts of men by the influences of a great religion, but that of a *conqueror*, returning from the defeat of earthly foes, cutting off the implements of war, and securing peace for his subjects by righteous government' (Driver).

[e] All implements and accompaniments of war will be destroyed. Cf. Isa. ix. 5–6.

[f] According to common Hebrew idiom this would mean that chariots and horsemen are to be cut off from both kingdoms. Cf. verse 17b; Joel ii. 28.

[g] From the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, which probably was conceived as encircling Persia on the east. The word for River is practically always used of the Euphrates. Delitzsch, commenting on Ps. lxxii. 8 (where the same words occur), writes, 'The Sea (the Mediterranean) and the River (Euphrates) are geographically defined points of issue wherever the definition of boundary is extended into the unbounded.' Cf. 1 Kings iv. 21.

[h] For the bearing of this passage on the date of the prophecy see Introd., p. 80.

[i] i.e. the daughter of Zion (ver. 9).

[k] Jehovah keeps to His covenant sealed as by ancient custom with blood (cf. Exod. xxiv. 5–8; Heb. ix. 18, 19), a reference to the blood of sacrificial victims.

[l] Prisoners in an empty dungeon—and pits or rainwater cisterns were often

12 [1] Turn you to the strong hold [a], ye prisoners of hope [b]:
Even to-day do I declare that I will render double unto thee.

[1] Or, *Return*

Under Jehovah's protection and guidance Israel and Judah will triumph over their foes. ix. 13–15.

13 For I have bent Judah for me,
I have filled the bow with Ephraim [c];
And I will stir up thy sons, O Zion,
Against thy sons, O [2] Greece [d],
And will make thee as the sword of a mighty man.

[2] Heb. *Javan.*

14 And the LORD shall be seen over them [e],
And his arrow shall go forth as the lightning:
And the Lord GOD shall blow the trumpet,
And shall go with whirlwinds of the south [f].

15 The LORD of hosts shall defend them;
And they shall devour, and shall tread down the sling stones [g];
And they shall drink, and make a noise as through wine [h]:
And they shall be filled like bowls, like the corners of the altar [i].

used as places of concealment and confinement (Jer. xxxviii. 6–13)—are here figurative of exiled Hebrews. Cf. Ps. lxix. 33, 35; cii. 20; Isa. xli. 17–20; xlii. 7, 22; li. 14.

[a] 'Fortification', generally explained of Jerusalem, but it may perhaps refer to the natural defences of the country.

[b] Who can now look for deliverance (cf. Rom. viii. 20, 21), and unto whom a double compensation of blessing, far outweighing the misery of bondage, shall be awarded. Cf. Isa. lxi. 7.

[c] God will use His people as His weapons, Judah as the bow, Ephraim as the arrows, Zion as the warrior's sword. Cf. Jer. li. 20.

[d] See note on Ezek. xxvii. 12. Here probably it refers to the Syrian Kingdom ruled by the Seleucidae. See Introd., p. 82.

[e] Jehovah is poetically described as appearing in the thunderstorm to help His people. Cf. Ps. xviii; Isa. xxx. 30.

[f] These were particularly tempestuous and destructive. See Isa. xxi. 1; Job xxxvii. 9; cf. Nahum i. 3; Hab. iii. 3–5.

[g] The text is obscure, but the meaning probably is that Jehovah's people shall devour their enemies and contemptuously tread upon the stones which have been slung ineffectively against them.

[h] We should probably read 'And they shall drink his blood' ('their blood' LXX, ℵ c. a, c. b A Q Γ 'them' B, &c.) 'like wine'.

[i] i.e. they shall be as full of the blood of the slain as the sacrificial basons (Exod. xxxviii. 3) with the blood of sacrificial victims, or the blood-drenched horns of the altar (Lev. i. 5, 11).

The glory and Divinely given prosperity of the redeemed people. ix. 16—x. 2.

And the LORD their God shall save them in that 16
day as the flock of his people [a]:
For *they shall be as* the stones [b] of a crown,
† [1] Or, *Glittering upon &c.*
[1] Lifted on high over his land.
For how great is [2] his [c] [3] goodness! 17
And how great is [2] his beauty!
[2] Or, *their*
[3] Or, *prosperity*
Corn shall make the young men flourish,
And new wine the maids [d].

Ask ye of the LORD rain in the time of the latter 10
rain [e],
Even of the LORD that maketh lightnings;
And he shall give them showers of rain,
To every one grass in the field.
For the teraphim [f] have spoken vanity, 2
And the diviners have seen a lie;
[4] Or, *the dreamers speak falsely*
And [4] they have told false dreams,
They comfort in vain [g]:
Therefore they go their way like sheep [h],
They are afflicted,
Because there is no shepherd.

II. THE VICTORIES AND GLORIOUS FUTURE OF THE PEOPLE OF GOD. x. 3–12.

The punishment of (foreign) oppressors, followed by the rise of strong and wise native counsellors. x. 3–4.

Mine anger is kindled against the shepherds [i], 3
And I will punish the he-goats:

[a] Better, 'shall save them, even as a flock, His people'.

[b] By a slight emendation many commentators read 'like the stones' for 'for they shall be as the stones'. The warriors standing up aloft in their shining armour over the land are compared to the glittering jewels of a crown.

[c] i.e. the people's. Driver suggests the slight change to the suffix 'her' (i.e. its), making it refer to the land, which gives a more natural sense.

[d] i.e. according to Hebrew idiom, men and maids would be cheered with abundance of corn and wine. See note on verse 10.

[e] About March. See note on Jer. iii. 3. There had probably been some shortage of rain at the time of this prophecy. But see Introd., p. 81.

[f] Household gods (Judges xvii. 5; xviii. 14; Hos. iii. 4), probably originating in ancestor worship and so in human form (1 Sam. xix. 13, 16). They were used in divination (Ezek. xxi. 21). [g] Their promises of rain are not fulfilled.

[h] Therefore, because they consult idols, they are as unsettled as wandering sheep which are shepherdless.

[i] By shepherds and he-goats (which may be compared to our bell-wethers) probably foreign rulers are meant. For the figures cf. Jer. xxiii. 1–4; l. 6–8; Isa. xiv. 9; Ezek. xxxiv. 1–22, where native kings and magnates are, however, intended.

For the LORD of hosts hath visited his flock the house of Judah,
And shall make them as his goodly horse in the battle [a].
From him [b] shall come forth the corner stone [c],
4 From him the nail,
From him the battle bow,
From him every [1] exactor together.

[1] Or, *ruler*

Ephraim and Judah will triumph gloriously over their foes. x. 5–7.

5 And they shall be as mighty men,
Treading down *their enemies* in the mire of the streets [d] in the battle;
And they shall fight,
Because the LORD is with them:
And the riders on horses [e] shall be confounded.
6 And I will strengthen the house of Judah,
And I will save the house of Joseph [f],
And I will [2] bring them again,
For I have mercy upon them;
And they shall be as though I had not cast them off:
For I am the LORD their God, and I will hear them.

[2] Or, *cause them to dwell*

7 And *they of* Ephraim shall be like a mighty man,
And their heart shall rejoice as through wine:
Yea, their children shall see it, and rejoice;
Their heart shall be glad in the LORD.

The exiles will return from distant lands and glory in Jehovah. x. 8–12.

8 I will hiss [g] for them, and gather them;
For I have redeemed them:

[a] The shepherdless sheep will be changed into war-horses which will contend against their foes.

[b] i.e. Judah (cf. Jer. xxx. 21), who will have strong rulers and mighty warriors.

[c] i.e. state-magnates. Cf. Judges xx. 2; 1 Sam. xiv. 38; Isa. xix. 13. The nail is the tent-peg, another figure of rulers who hold the State together and upon whom much depends. Cf. Isa. xxii. 23, 24.

[d] Rather, 'they shall be as mighty men trampling upon the clay of the streets'. But by an insignificant change of text, Wellhausen and others read, 'they shall trample upon mighty men as clay in the streets'.

[e] i.e. the enemies of Judah. Cf. Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, 23; xxxviii. 15. Cavalry was always the strength of these eastern powers.

[f] i.e. Ephraim and Manasseh as leaders of the ten tribes.

[g] As bees are enticed to their hive. See note on Isa. v. 26.

And they shall increase as they have increased [a].
[1] Or, *And though I sow them... they shall remember &c.*
[1] And I will sow them among the peoples ; 9
And they shall remember me in far countries :
And they shall live [b] with their children, and shall return.
I will bring them again also out of the land of 10
Egypt,
And gather them out of Assyria [c] ;
And I will bring them into the land of Gilead and Lebanon [d] ;
And *place* shall not be found for them.
And he shall pass through the sea of affliction [e], 11
† [2] Or, *the sea of waves*
And shall smite [2] the waves in the sea,
And all the depths of the Nile shall dry up :
And the pride of Assyria shall be brought down,
And the sceptre of Egypt shall depart away.
And I will strengthen them in the LORD ; 12
And they shall walk up and down in his name [f],
Saith the LORD.

III. THE REJECTION OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD. xi. and xiii. 7–9.

The land is devastated by foreign invaders. xi. 1–3.

Open thy doors [g], O Lebanon, **11**
That the fire may devour thy cedars.
Howl, O fir tree, 2

[a] They would once more increase as they had before their recent calamities. Cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 10, 11 ; Isa. liv. 1, 2, &c.

[b] Better, by a change of points, 'cause to live', i.e. rear. But by a slight change in the Hebrew, Wellhausen and others read, 'turn their thoughts to me and repent'.

[c] The allusion to Egypt and Assyria as the places of exile still points to the Northern Kingdom (cf. Hos. xi. 11). But see Introd., p. 81.

[d] It seems probable that these territories are selected, the one as being the part of the land first entered by the original exiles from Egypt, the other as that which would be reached first from Assyria. From these territories which, though wide and fertile, would not be large enough to support them, they would spread west and south.

[e] The word is obscure. It perhaps means that Jehovah as Israel's leader will cross the narrow sea, i.e. the arm of the sea which was crossed at the Exodus (Exod. xiv. 16, 21, 22. Cf. Isa. xi. 15, 16). But we should probably read for 'sea of affliction' 'sea of Egypt'.

[f] Better, with LXX, 'And in his name shall they (i.e. Israel) make their boast'. Cf. Ps. cv. 3.

[g] By a curious poetical conceit the forest is bidden to admit the invaders to harass and destroy. It is not easy to trace any connexion between this foreign invasion and the allegory that follows. Probably it was originally an independent fragment. See Introd., p. 81. Some think that by the cedars, oaks, &c. native rulers are represented figuratively.

For the cedar is fallen,
Because the [1] goodly ones are spoiled [a]:
Howl, O ye oaks of Bashan,
For the [2] strong [b] forest is come down.
3 A voice of the howling of the shepherds!
For their glory is spoiled:
A voice of the roaring of young lions!
For the pride [c] of Jordan is spoiled.

[1] Or, *glorious*†
[2] Or, *defenced*

The Good Shepherd sent to feed the flock, and cuts off the three pitiless shepherds in one month. xi. 4–8a.

4 Thus said the LORD my God:
Feed the flock of slaughter [d];
5 Whose [3] possessors slay them,
And hold themselves not guilty [e];
And they that sell [f] them say,
Blessed be the LORD, for I am rich [g]:
And [4] their own shepherds [h] pity them not.
6 For I will no more pity the inhabitants of the land [i], saith the LORD:
But, lo, I will deliver the men every one into his neighbour's hand,
And into the hand of his king:
And they shall smite the land,
And out of their hand I will not deliver them.
7 So I [k] fed the flock of slaughter,
Verily [5] the poor [l] of the flock.

[3] Or, *buyers*†
[4] Or, *their shepherd pitieth*
[5] Or, *the most miserable of sheep*

[a] i.e., 'the glorious trees are felled'.

[b] Better, 'inaccessible', perhaps referring again to the forest of Lebanon. After the cedars are burnt, the fir trees and the oaks of Bashan are bidden to wail, for it is their turn to be destroyed.

[c] The rank, luxuriant undergrowth where used to be the lairs of lions. See note on Jer. xlix. 19.

[d] i.e. destined for slaughter.

[e] i.e. whose buyers (see margin; perhaps some of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidae) slay them with impunity.

[f] Probably unpatriotic native leaders who betrayed the nation into the hands of these 'buyers'.

[g] The complacent self-gratulation at the large bribes obtained.

[h] i.e. their rulers. Cf. Jer. xxiii. 1–8; Ezek. xxxiv. 1–19.

[i] This verse is intended, perhaps, to foretell a period of disaster to the country owing to the rule of the unpitying shepherds, from which it is the mission of the good shepherd to free them, but in vain. It is possible that we should point 'his shepherd' instead of 'his neighbour'. But some commentators, taking the word 'land' as 'earth', refer it to the anarchy prevailing in the world.

[k] The prophet by the rod and staff shews his character as a Divinely appointed shepherd. It is more in accordance with the prophetic usage to suppose that we have here symbolical actions actually performed than mere parables symbolically represented. See Ezekiel, Introd., p. 15.

[l] For 'verily the poor' (an impossible rendering of the Hebrew) by joining

† [1] Or, *Graciousness* [2] Or, *Binders* Or, *Union*

And I took unto me two staves [a]; the one I called [1] Beauty [b], and the other I called [2] Bands [c]; and I fed the flock. And I cut off the three shepherds in one 8
month [d];

They hate him and he refuses to feed them any longer.
xi. 8b–11.

For my soul [e] was weary of them,
And their soul also loathed me.
Then said I, I will not feed you: 9
That that dieth, let it die;
[3] Or, *that that is lost, let it be lost* And [3] that that is to be cut off, let it be cut off;
And let them which are left eat every one the flesh of another.
And I took my staff Beauty, and cut it asunder, that 10
I might break my covenant which I had made with
all the peoples [f]. And it was broken in that day: 11
[4] Or, *the poor of the flock . . . knew of a truth* [5] Or, *the most miserable of sheep* and [4] thus [5] the poor of the flock [g] that gave heed unto
me knew that it was the word of the LORD.

The paltry value set upon the Shepherd's services.
xi. 12–13.

And I said unto them, If ye think good, give me my 12
hire; and if not, forbear [h]. So they weighed for my
hire thirty *pieces* of silver [i]. And the LORD said unto 13

two Hebrew words and pointing them differently we get the word 'merchants of', i. e. those who bought them (see ver. 11). The prophet takes them away from their merciless rule and rules them himself.

[a] The staff (or crook) to guide and walk with, and the rod (or club) to defend the flock. See Ps. xxiii. 4. These are still carried by Eastern shepherds, and as pastoral staff and mace have become the symbols of authority in Church and State.

[b] The gracious favour (see margin) of Jehovah shewn in His protective care against outside foes. Cf. Ps. xxvii. 4; xc. 17.

[c] A sign of God's desire to promote concord between Judah and Ephraim.

[d] Who these three 'shepherds that pitied them not' (ver. 5) were is not known. See Driver for the many and various interpretations suggested, and note on verse 15. Perhaps both 'three' and 'month' are merely formal terms representing several in quick succession.

[e] Translate 'And my soul', &c. It means that he, the shepherd, was impatient with the people, and they too hated him. He fails, even after the evil shepherds are removed, and abandons the flock to their fate of self-destruction (ver. 9).

[f] Jehovah here speaks poetically of having made a covenant with Israel's enemies, just as in Hos. ii. 18 He promises to make a covenant with wild beasts and birds not to destroy their land.

[g] Read 'the merchants (i. e. the buyers) of the flock,' as in verse 7. These recognised by this symbolical action that the prophet was delivering a Divine message. Cf. Zech. vi. 15, &c.

[h] He wishes to learn how the flock have valued his services.

[i] They insult him by offering the price of a foreign slave (Exod. xxi. 32;

me, Cast it [1] unto the potter [a], the goodly price that I was prised at of them [b]. And I took the thirty *pieces* of silver, and cast them [1] unto the potter [a], in the house of the LORD.

[1] The Syriac reads, *into the treasury.*†

The Shepherd breaks his staff of brotherhood between Judah and Israel. xi. 14.

14 Then I cut asunder mine other staff, even Bands,
that I might break the brotherhood between Judah and Israel.

The Good Shepherd is replaced by a foolish shepherd. xi. 15–16.

15 And the LORD said unto me,
Take unto thee yet again the instruments [c] of a foolish shepherd.

16 For, lo, I will raise up a shepherd in the land,
Which shall not [2] visit [d] those that be [3] cut off,
Neither shall seek [4] those that be scattered [e],
Nor heal that that is broken;
Neither shall he feed that which [5] is sound,
But he shall eat the flesh of the fat,
And shall tear their hoofs in pieces [f].

[2] Or, *miss*
[3] Or, *lost*
[4] Or, *the young*
[5] Heb. *standeth.*

The fate of the foolish shepherd. ix. 17, see also xiii. 7–9.

17 Woe to the worthless shepherd that leaveth the flock!
The sword shall be upon his arm,
And upon his right eye:

cf. Hos. iii. 2). A shekel (weight, Gen. xxiii. 16; Jer. xxxii. 9) of silver was about 2*s.* 9*d.*; the sum would therefore be about £4 2*s.* 6*d.* of our money.

[a] The additional words, 'in the house of the LORD', at the end of the verse, make it clear that we should here read 'into the treasury', the latter word closely resembling 'potter'. The money is given to Jehovah, whose agent the prophet is. The passage is curiously quoted by St. Matthew, as from Jeremiah (!), with some alteration of text, and applied to the purchase of the potter's field with the betrayal money of Judas.

[b] Of course ironical, either spoken by the prophet parenthetically, or by Jehovah, whose representative the prophet had been.

[c] i. e. accoutrements. In the case of an ordinary shepherd these would be the dress, club, staff, scrip, &c. Some of these would be the same, but others would be such as to mark his violent treatment of the flock. See note on verse 7. By the foolish shepherd is probably signified a high priest. See xiii. 7. In particular, Wellhausen suggests that Menelaus may be meant.

[d] i. e. look after.

[e] The common Hebrew word for 'the young man'. The LXX 'scattered' requires a considerable alteration of the text. A more satisfactory emendation gives 'the little one' or 'little ones', the word used in xiii. 7.

[f] By overdriving them in stony places. For the whole picture of neglect and cruelty cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 4 (on which this passage is probably based), John x. 12, 13.

His arm shall be clean dried up [a],
And his right eye shall be utterly darkened [b].

* * * *

II. THE SECOND BURDEN. xii—xiii. 6 and xiv.

THE SALVATION AND GLORIOUS FUTURE OF ISRAEL.

I. THE NATIONAL REVIVAL. xii—xiii. 6.

(1) *A GREAT TRIAL AND DELIVERANCE.* xii. 1–9.

A vain assault of the hostile nations upon Jerusalem. xii. 1–3.

[1] Or, *oracle*

12 The [1] burden [c] of the word of the LORD concerning Israel.

Thus saith the LORD, which stretcheth forth the heavens,
And layeth the foundation of the earth,
And formeth the spirit of man within him:

Behold, I will make Jerusalem a cup [d] of reeling unto
[2] Or, *against*
all the peoples round about, and [2] upon Judah also
[3] Or, *shall it fall* to be
[3] shall it be in the siege against Jerusalem [e].

3 And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will make Jerusalem a burdensome stone [f] for all the peoples;

All that burden themselves with it shall be sore wounded [g];

And all the nations of the earth shall be gathered together against it.

[a] The punishment (sword) shall be the withering of the arm and the blinding of the eye. The new ruler would be deprived both of the power to act and of wisdom to understand.

[b] xiii. 7–9, which contains the end of the allegory, should be read after verse 17.

[c] See note on ix. 1.

[d] Though the figure is that of 'the cup of reeling' in Isa. li. 17, 22 (cf. xxiv. 20; Jer. xxv. 15–17, 26, 28), the word here means 'bowl' as used for sacrificial blood. Exod. xii. 22; 1 Kings vii. 50. The nations gather round to drink the life-blood of Jerusalem, but only to stagger and to fall.

[e] A very difficult and probably corrupt clause, probably meaning that the attack would be directed not only against Jerusalem but against Judah. That Judah should be described as joining in the siege of Jerusalem (marg.) seems highly improbable, and accords ill with verses 5 and 6. See Introd., p. 82, note 2.

[f] St. Jerome describes a sport prevalent in his day of youths testing their strength by lifting huge stones (cf. the 'putting stone' of the highlanders of Scotland, and the 'putting the weight' of modern athletes). But Dr. G. A. Smith thinks 'the idea is rather of one of the large stones half buried in the earth which it is the effort of the husbandman to tear from its bed and carry out of his field before he ploughs it'.

[g] The stone is not only extremely heavy but would cut the hands of those who should seek to remove it.

The panic among the enemy. xii. 4.

4 In that day, saith the LORD, I will smite every
horse with astonishment,
And his rider with madness[a]:
And I will open mine eyes upon the house of
Judah,
And will smite every horse of the peoples with
blindness.

Judah would fight Jerusalem's battles and be the first to win the victory. xii. 5–7.

5 And the chieftains of Judah shall say in their heart,
The inhabitants of Jerusalem are my strength in the
LORD of hosts their God.
6 In that day will I make the chieftains of Judah[b]
like a pan of fire among wood,
And like a torch of fire among sheaves;
And they shall devour all the peoples round about,
On the right hand and on the left:
And Jerusalem shall yet again dwell in her own
place,
Even in Jerusalem.
7 The LORD also shall save the tents of Judah first,
that the glory of the house of David and the glory of
the inhabitants of Jerusalem be not magnified above
Judah[c].

Jerusalem with a marvellously renewed vigour would then repel her foes. xii. 8–9.

8 In that day shall the LORD defend the inhabitants
of Jerusalem;
And he [1] that is feeble among them at that day
shall be as David;
And the house of David shall be as God,

[1] Or, *that stumbleth*

[a] The besiegers will be panic-stricken (Deut. xxviii. 28) when Jehovah favourably regards Jerusalem. Cf. Ps. xxxii. 8, &c.

[b] Saved themselves, the princes of Judah (or perhaps we should point 'families' as in ix. 7) recognise that their strength lies in Jerusalem and Jerusalem's God, Jehovah. In His strength they defeat the nations who attack them on all sides.

[c] 'Jerusalem, deeply bedded in the soil, remains in her place, but the glory of the victory is first Judah's, so that the house of David may not have too much fame nor boast over the country districts. The writer doubtless alludes to some temporary schism between the capital and the country caused by the arrogance of the former. But we have no means of knowing when this took place. It must often have been imminent in the days both before and especially after the Exile, when Jerusalem had absorbed all the religious privilege and influence of the nation' (G. A. Smith).

As the angel of the LORD before them [a].
And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will 9
seek to destroy all the nations that come against
Jerusalem.

(2) *THE CITY IS AROUSED TO PENITENCE AND AMENDMENT.* xii. 10—xiii. 6.

Her violent grief and mourning for one whom she has murdered. xii. 10–14.

And I will pour upon the house of David, and 10
upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem [b],
The spirit of grace and of supplication [c];
† [1] According to some MSS., *him.*
And they shall look unto [1] me [d] whom they have
pierced:
And they shall mourn for him,
As one mourneth for his only son,
And shall be in bitterness for him,
As one that is in bitterness for his firstborn.
In that day shall there be a great mourning in 11
Jerusalem,
As the mourning of Hadadrimmon [e] in the valley
of Megiddon.
And the land shall mourn, every family apart; 12
The family of the house of David apart,
And their wives apart;
The family of the house of Nathan apart,
And their wives apart;
The family of the house of Levi apart, 13

[a] Their feeblest shall be as brave a warrior as David, and the members of their royal house shall be as God and the angel of Jehovah who had led them in the wilderness. Cf. Exod. xxiii. 20; xxxiii. 2.

[b] i. e. all, both rulers and governed.

[c] The spirit which seeks the grace of God and finds its atmosphere in supplication. Cf. Heb. x. 29; Rom. viii. 26, 27.

[d] As the text stands, the passage must mean that Jehovah had been wounded (a strong expression for grievous moral injury) by their sins. But the context clearly implies that we should make the slight change of 'him' for 'me', and the reference is clearly to some person whose death through their repentance becomes the object of a universal lamentation. We know not who this martyr was, but we may recognise in him a type of Christ. See John xix. 37, where the quotation, which is not that of the LXX, points to the reading here adopted. The same reading is also testified by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 52, *Dial. cum Tryph.* 32.

[e] Perhaps Rummaneh, close to Megiddo, on the south-west edge of the Plain of Esdraelon (2 Kings xxiii. 29), where Josiah was slain by the Egyptians. An annual mourning had been instituted for him (2 Chron. xxxv. 25), to which reference is probably made here. Some, however, have suggested that the two names, Hadad and Rimmon, representing in Aramaic and Assyrian the same god of rain and storm, here represent a synonym of Tammuz or Adonis, whose death was annually lamented as a great religious act. See note on Ezek. viii. 14.

And their wives apart ;
The family of the Shimeites apart,
And their wives apart ;
14 All the families that remain, every family apart,
And their wives apart [a].

Her purification from past sin and defilement. xiii. 1.

13 In that day there shall be a fountain [b] opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem [c], for sin and for uncleanness.

Idolatry and sooth-saying will be suppressed with violence and hatred. xiii. 2–6.

2 And it shall come to pass in that day, saith the LORD of hosts, that I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered : and also I will cause the prophets [d] and the unclean
3 spirit [e] to pass out of the land. And it shall come to pass that, when any shall yet prophesy, then his father and his mother that begat him shall say unto him, Thou shalt not live ; for thou speakest lies in the name of the LORD : and his father and his mother that begat him shall thrust him through when he
4 prophesieth [f]. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision, when he prophesieth ; neither shall they wear
5 a hairy mantle [g] to deceive : but he shall say, I am no prophet, I am a tiller of the ground ; for I have been
6 made a bondman [h] from my youth. And one shall

[a] 'The wailing will be universal, but not confused or disorderly ; every family, the sexes apart, will form itself into a separate group. As examples, the prophet singles out the kingly and priestly families, and at the same time takes a subordinate branch in each, for the purpose of showing how the wailing is to extend to every subdivision of the entire nation' (Driver). The separation of the sexes in Temple and synagogue is perhaps based on this passage.

[b] Cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 25 ; xlvii. 1–12.

[c] See note on xii. 10.

[d] 'In general : not merely false prophets. Prophecy when the author wrote must have become degraded, and prophets must have been either (Wellhausen) public demagogues, or (G. A. Smith) mere professional and mercenary oracle-mongers. The author himself would be distinguished from such, by being a *writing* prophet, perhaps also by writing anonymously' (Driver).

[e] i.e. the spirit of uncleanness, which led men to sin just as the spirit of grace (xii. 10) led men to repentance.

[f] Prophesying was so detested that even a prophet's parents are described as persecuting him.

[g] He would not wear the characteristic dress of a prophet (cf. 2 Kings i. 8 ; Matt. iii. 4) ; that is to say, he would no longer, openly at any rate, exercise the prophet's office which was tantamount to being a professional liar.

[h] Lit. 'one hath sold me', i.e., according to Hebrew idiom, 'I was sold'.

say unto him, What are these wounds between thine
† [1] Heb. *hands.* [1] arms [a]? Then he shall answer, Those with which I
[2] Or, *lovers* was wounded in the house of my [2] friends [b].

* * * *

THE REJECTION OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD (continued from ch. xi). xiii. 7–9 [c].

The fate of the foolish shepherd. xiii. 7.

Awake, O sword [d], against my shepherd [e], 7
And against the man that is my fellow,
Saith the LORD of hosts:
Smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered;
And I will turn mine hand upon the little ones [f].

The fiery trial of the shepherdless people and its happy issue. xiii. 8–9.

And it shall come to pass, that in all the land, 8
saith the LORD,
Two parts therein shall be cut off and die;
But the third shall be left therein [g].
And I will bring the third part through the fire, 9
And will refine them as silver is refined,
And will try them as gold is tried [h]:

He had been sold in his youth and had worked ever since. By a very slight alteration Wellhausen proposes to emend the text thus: 'for the ground has been my possession from my youth.' Prophets will disclaim their profession and avow that of agriculture. Cf. the similar but differently-motived disclaimer of Amos vii. 14.

[a] The wounds are described as between the hands either as being plainly visible and undeniable (cf. Deut. xi. 18), or as on the breast, so literally between the hands or arms. Cf. 2 Kings ix. 24, where 'between the arms' is used of a wound in the back.

[b] The wounds point to the blows he has received as a prophet. Refusing to acknowledge this, he declares that they have been caused by his boon companions, presumably in some drunken brawl.

[c] Ewald pointed out that these verses (7–9), so obviously out of place here, follow quite naturally upon xi. 4–17, and most scholars agree to transfer them to that position.

[d] Cf. Jer. xlvii. 6, 7.

[e] The titles 'my shepherd', 'my fellow', seem to suggest that, foolish as he was, he was the High Priest.

[f] Cf. Jer. xlix. 20; l. 45. See note [e] on xi. 16. While punishing the flock as a whole who had rejected the good shepherd, Jehovah would visit with tender care the little ones (i. e. innocent and the poor), whom the evil shepherd had neglected. Cf. Ps. xcv. 7. Others, however, explain the turning of Jehovah's hand as an act of punishment. Cf. Amos i. 8; Isa. i. 25; Ps. lxxxi. 14.

[g] Cf. 2 Sam. viii. 2 for David's similar treatment of Moab. But here it may be intended to represent that a small remnant only would be left.

[h] For the comparison of severe trials to the refining of metals in the fire cf. Isa. i. 25, 26, and see note on Malachi iii. 2–3.

They shall call on my name,
And I will hear them:
I will say, It is my people;
And they shall say, The LORD is my God.

* * * *

II. THE FINAL CONSUMMATION. XIV.

(1) *THE COMING OF THE DAY OF JEHOVAH.* xiv. 1–11.

The nations besiege and make havoc of the city. xiv. 1–2.

14 Behold, a day of the LORD [a] cometh, when thy spoil shall be divided in the midst of thee [b].
2 For I will gather all nations [c] against Jerusalem to battle;
And the city shall be taken,
And the houses rifled,
And the women ravished:
And half of the city shall go forth into captivity,
And the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city.

The wonderful deliverance wrought by Jehovah. xiv. 3–5.

3 Then shall the LORD go forth, and fight against those nations, as when he fought in the day of battle [d].
4 And his feet shall stand in that day upon the mount of Olives [e], which is before Jerusalem on the east, and the mount of Olives shall cleave [f] in the midst thereof toward the east and toward the west, *and there shall* [1] *be* a very great valley [g]; and half of the mountain shall remove toward the north, and half of it toward the south.
5 And [1] ye shall flee [2] by the valley of [3] my mountains; for the valley of the mountains shall reach unto Azel [h]: yea, ye shall flee, like as ye fled

[1] Or, as otherwise read, *the valley of my mountains shall be stopped*
[2] Or, *to*
[3] Or, *the*

[a] See notes on Amos v. 18 and Zeph. i. 7.
[b] Jerusalem will be plundered.
[c] Cf. Joel iii. 2, 9–11; Ezek. xxxviii, xxxix; Rev. xx. 7–9.
[d] In previous wars of the Jews. See Exod. xiv. 14, 25. Cf. Hab. iii. 12–15; Deut. i. 30; iii. 22; xx. 4; Isa. xxx. 1, 7. The vision is of course apocalyptic.
[e] See note on Ezek. xl. 2; cf. Ezek. xi. 23.
[f] A great earthquake is depicted. Cf. Judg. v. 5; Nah. i. 5; Ps. cxiv. 4. Cf. Isa. xxix. 6; Ezek. xxxviii. 19, 20.
[g] A new valley opens east and west, at right angles to the Kedron valley, and along it a way of escape is opened.
[h] Some now unknown place to the east of Olivet, possibly Beth-ezel of Mic. i. 11.

from before the earthquake [a] in the days of Uzziah
king of Judah:
And the LORD my God shall come,
And all the holy ones [b] with thee.

The terrible Day becomes a Day of joy and light. xiv. 6–7.

[1] Another reading is, *there shall not be light, the bright ones shall contract themselves.*

6 And it shall come to pass in that day, that [1] the light
7 shall not be [2] with brightness and with gloom [c]: but
it shall be one day [d] which is known unto the LORD;
not day, and not night [e]: but it shall come to pass,
that at evening time there shall be light.

†[2] According to some ancient versions, *but cold and frost.*

The exalted city becomes a centre of life to the world which now acknowledges Jehovah. xiv. 8–11.

8 And it shall come to pass in that day, that living
waters shall go out from Jerusalem [f]; half of them
toward the eastern sea, and half of them toward the
western sea [g]: in summer and in winter shall it be [h].
9 And the LORD shall be king over all the earth: in that
day shall the LORD be one, and his name one [i]. All
10 the land shall be turned as the Arabah [k], from Geba [l]
to Rimmon south of Jerusalem; and she [m] shall be

[a] See note on Amos i. 1. Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* ix., x. 4.

[b] i. e. angels. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2; Job xv. 15; Ps. lxxix. 5, 7; Dan. iv. 13, where see note.

[c] The text of this verse is very uncertain. Perhaps we should read, with Wellhausen and others, 'there shall be neither heat nor cold nor frost'. The climate will be temperate.

[d] One long single day, because there is no night (see next note), known only to Jehovah. Cf. Deut. xxix. 29.

[e] There will be no interchange of day and night, but when evening comes it will still be light. Cf. Isa. lx. 20; Rev. xxi. 25.

[f] Jerusalem and its neighbourhood are practically without water except for occasional wells, and rain-water pools. The city has long been supplied with water from without, e. g. by conduits from Solomon's Pools, about five miles south of Bethlehem. But here Jerusalem is to be the source of perennial, fertilising streams. Cf. Ezek. xlvii. 1–12; Joel iii. 18; Rev. xxii. 1.

[g] The Dead Sea and the Mediterranean.

[h] They will not dry up in summer as do most of the brooks of Palestine.

[i] Monotheism will be universal. All will accept the Divine self-revelation and will worship the God Jehovah. Cf. Zeph. iii. 9.

[k] Mountainous Judah will become a level plain as flat as the Great Ghor, the deepest depression on the face of the earth (see note on Ezek. xlvii. 8), along which the Jordan flows into the Dead Sea, the shores of which are nearly 1,300 feet below the level of the sea.

[l] Geba is six miles north-east of Jerusalem, marking the northernmost limit of Judah. See 2 Kings xxiii. 8. Rimmon was a city on the extreme south, about 35 miles south-west of Jerusalem. See Josh. xv. 32; Neh. xi. 29.

[m] i. e. Jerusalem shall retain its present elevation, while the rest of Judah has become a low sunken plain.

lifted up, and shall dwell in her place, from Benjamin's gate [a] unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate [b], and from the tower of Hananel [c] unto
11 the king's winepresses [d]. And men shall dwell therein, and there shall be no more [1] curse [e]; but Jerusalem shall dwell safely.

[1] Or, *ban* †

(2) *JEHOVAH'S RELATION TO THE HOSTILE NATIONS.* xiv. 12–19.

Those who have fought against the city are to be punished with a great plague. xiv. 12–15.

12 And this shall be the plague wherewith the LORD will smite all the peoples that have warred against Jerusalem:
Their flesh shall consume away while they stand upon their feet,
And their eyes shall consume away in their sockets,
And their tongue shall consume away in their mouth [f].
13 And it shall come to pass in that day, that a great [1] tumult from the LORD shall be among them;
And they shall lay hold every one on the hand of his neighbour,
And his hand shall rise up against the hand of his neighbour.
14 And Judah also shall fight [2] against [g] Jerusalem;

[1] Or, *discomfiture* †

[2] Or, *at*

[a] Probably at the north-east corner, so called because it led into the territory of Benjamin. See Jer. xxxvii. 12, 13.

[b] Probably at the north-west corner (2 Kings xiv. 13; 2 Chron. xxvi. 9; Jer. xxxi. 38). '"The first gate" is obscure: perhaps the same as "the corner gate", or perhaps "the former gate" (note "the place of"), i.e. some gate disused at the time when the prophet wrote' (Driver).

[c] See note on Jer. xxxi. 38.

[d] Probably at the south-east corner, not far from the 'king's garden' (Jer. xxxix. 4, where see note) and the Pool of Siloam (see Isa. xxii. 11; Neh. iii. 15; and note on Isa. viii. 6). The northern and eastern boundaries of the city would thus seem indicated in this verse.

[e] i.e. the nation would be no longer 'devoted' as the Canaanites had been (see Deut. vii. 2; xx. 17, &c.), and Israel in their exile (Isa. xliii. 28).

[f] Verse 15 would seem to follow here more appropriately. It seems probable therefore that verses 13–14 are an interpolation based on ch. xii. Moreover the use of Judah in the feminine in verse 14 for the inhabitants is contrary to Hebrew usage. The mouldering plague—perhaps small-pox or more probably the bubonic plague is meant—will fall on the nations and their beasts. There is a return to, and a development of, the condition described in verses 2–3.

[g] This would naturally mean 'against' as in Exod. i. 10; Judg. ix. 45, and not 'at' as in margin. Probably the interpolator (see previous note) misunderstood xii. 2 (where see note [e]). In any case this is the only passage that speaks definitely of this attack, so improbable in itself, of Judah against Jerusalem. See Introd., p. 80 note.

And the wealth of all the nations round about shall be gathered together [a],
Gold, and silver, and apparel, in great abundance.

And [b] so shall be the plague of the horse, of the mule, 15
of the camel, and of the ass, and of all the beasts that shall be in those camps, as this plague.

The remnant who escape are required to go up annually to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Booths, on pain of famine. xiv. 16–19.

And it shall come to pass, that every one that is left 16
of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall go up from year to year to worship the King, the LORD of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles [c].
And it shall be, that whoso of *all* the families of the 17
earth goeth not up unto Jerusalem to worship the King, the LORD of hosts, upon them there shall be no rain [d]. And if the family of Egypt go not up, and 18
come not, [1]neither [e] *shall it be* upon them; there shall be the plague, wherewith the LORD will smite the nations that go not up to keep the feast of tabernacles.
This shall be the [2]punishment of Egypt, and the 19
[2]punishment of all the nations that go not up to keep the feast of tabernacles.

[1] Or, *shall there not be upon them the plague &c.?* † The text is probably corrupt. The Sept. and Syr. have, *upon them shall be the plague &c.*
[2] Or, *sin*

(3) *THE PERFECT HOLINESS OF JERUSALEM AND JUDAH AND OF ALL THAT BELONGED TO THEM.* xiv. 20–21.

In that day [f] shall there be upon the bells [g] of the 20

[a] The disaster of verses 1–2 would now be reversed. Cf. Isa. xxxiii. 4; Ezek. xxxix. 9, 10.

[b] See note on verse 12.

[c] Rather 'Booths', the Feast of Final Ingathering, the great thanksgiving for the fruits and the vintage. Deut. xvi. 13–16; Lev. xxiii. 34; Exod. xxiii. 16; Neh. viii. 13–18. Cf. Rev. vii. 9.

[d] This would necessarily involve the failure of the harvest, for which they should have thanked God at the feast.

[e] LXX, &c., omit the negative, and the words run as in margin. The error of text evidently arose from the similarity of the words 'go up' and 'upon them' which caused the accidental repetition of the word 'not'. The prophet evidently remembers that Egypt is dependent not upon rain but upon the annual overflow of the Nile. Her punishment therefore will be the plague.

[f] The consecration of the people and city and all connected with them is with the prophets a prominent characteristic of the Messianic age. See Isa. iv. 3; Jer. xxxi. 38–40; Isa. lxii. 12; Joel iii. 17.

[g] Orientals love to hang bells round the necks of animals. Many do it to scare away the demons by their sound. But as Mediaeval Europe was the birthplace of bells as we understand them, it is probable that a jangling ornament is here meant.

horses, HOLY UNTO THE LORD [a]; and the pots [b] in the LORD'S house shall be like the bowls before the
21 altar. Yea, every pot [c] in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holy unto the LORD of hosts: and all they that sacrifice shall come and take of them, and seethe [d] therein: and in that day there shall be no more a [1] Canaanite [e] in the house of the LORD of hosts.

[1] Or, *trafficker* †

[a] The inscription on the High Priest's turban (Exod. xxviii. 36). So thorough will be the consecration that their very horses would be as sacred as the High Priest was now.

[b] The pans for removing the ashes from the altar are probably meant (Exod. xxvii. 3; xxxviii. 3; 1 Kings vii. 45), or the pots used for boiling the sacrifices. The bowls were the golden basons for holding the blood of the sacrifices (see note on ix. 15. Cf. Neh. vii. 70; 1 Kings vii. 50; Jer. lii. 19). The meaning is that the meaner vessels in use in sacrificial worship shall be as honoured and as holy as the holiest vessels. Others explain it, less probably, as signifying that owing to the great numbers attending the feast, the pots for boiling the sacrifices would have to be as large as the basons for holding the blood.

[c] Because of the enormous crowds every vessel in Jerusalem, however common, would be pressed into the sacred service and would become holy.

[d] Sacrifices, though commonly burnt by fire (Exod. xii. 10), were occasionally boiled both in ancient (1 Sam. ii. 13, 14) and in more recent times (Exod. xxix. 31; Lev. vi. 28; cf. Ezek. xlvi. 20–24).

[e] Cf. Isa. xxiii. 8, 9; Ezek. xvi. 29; xvii. 4. Merchants, who were probably generally Canaanites or Phoenicians (see Zeph. i. 11 and note on Hos. xii. 7), would no longer carry on their desecrating traffic (cf. Matt. xxi. 12–13, &c.) of selling or hiring out boiling vessels to the worshippers. But the word Canaanite may possibly be used here contemptuously of any heathen or unclean person, whose presence shall no longer defile the Temple. Cf. Deut. xxiii. 1–8; Rev. xxi. 27.

JONAH

INTRODUCTION

The Prophet himself.

JONAH, the son of Amittai (i. 1), whose name is attached to this book, lived probably nearly a generation before Amos (c. 780 B. C.). He seems to have succeeded Elisha as head of the 'schools' (i.e. guilds) of the Prophets in the Northern Kingdom, and he belonged to Gath-hepher, the modern El-Meshed in Zebulun, where among other places[1] his reputed tomb, much venerated by Moslems, is still pointed out. He must, therefore, have lived close to the scenes of our Lord's youth and early manhood. All that we know of Jonah, apart from this book, is that he prophesied probably in the reign of Joash, or possibly in that of his son Jeroboam II, that Israel, freed from Syrian oppression, would recover the territory which they had lost on the east side of Jordan (2 Kings xiv. 27). Assyria had so crippled the power of Damascus that Jeroboam was enabled to fulfil Jonah's prophecy.[2] As Assyria had already begun to menace Israel,[3] it is at least possible that Jonah may have been sent on a mission to Nineveh, which may have supplied the writer of Jonah with the historical basis of his story. Jewish tradition makes him the son of the widow of Zarephath, whom Elijah raised to life (1 Kings xvii. 22), and also that 'son of the prophets' whom Elisha sent to anoint Jehu (2 Kings ix. 1–3). Renan, Hitzig, and others have suggested with greater probability that the prophecy against Moab in Isa. xv—xvi. 12, mentioned by Isaiah as spoken 'in time past' (Isa. xvi. 13), was originally uttered by Jonah. The Christian Church has constantly, if sometimes to a fanciful degree, regarded Jonah as a type of Christ, and 'there is hardly any figure from the Old Testament which the early Christians in the catacombs so often took as their consolation in persecution as the deliverance of Jonah on the sea-shore, and his naked form stretched out in the burning sun beneath the sheltering gourd.'[4]

[1] The best-known traditional site of Jonah's burial is that which gave the name of Nebi Junas to a mound of ruins near the Tel Kouyunjik, part of ancient Nineveh.

[2] See 2 Kings xiv. 27; and vol. i. p. 1, and cf. 2 Kings xiii. 5.

[3] The well-known 'Black Obelisk' discovered at Nimrûd and now in the British Museum represents Jehu as a tributary of Shalmaneser II. See *Helps to the Study of the Bible*, Plate xxxiii.

[4] Stanley, *Jewish Church*, ii. 801.

The late date of the Book.

It is scarcely possible that this book was written by Jonah himself, nor indeed does it profess to have been so. For Nineveh, which was not destroyed till 606 B.C.[1], is referred to in a way that suggests that it had largely passed out of man's memory and probably stands for Babylon. No name is given to the land of Assyria, or to its king, who is curiously spoken of as 'king of Nineveh', a title quite unknown in the inscriptions. The many striking Aramaisms point to a time when written Hebrew was in close contact with Aramaic. Moreover the psalm in ch. ii shews indications of having been composed from earlier psalms at a late date. On the other hand, the book must have been written before the canon of the Prophets was closed, or else it would, like Daniel, have been placed among the Hagiographa.[2] We may, therefore, with fair probability, assign it to *c.* 300 B.C.

Is it history or allegory?

But if not written by Jonah, does it contain or does it even purpose to contain, a true episode of Jonah's life? To these questions the great majority of modern scholars unhesitatingly answer in the negative. Apart altogether from its more or less miraculous elements—the stilling of the sea, the prophet's preservation in the fish, the rapid growth and destruction of the gourd—the book has much that is incredible, e.g. the immense population of the city (see note on iv. 11), to which we should perhaps add its enormous size (see note on iii. 3); the sudden conversion of a people, of which not the least trace is left in their after-history. Again, the quaint way in which the animals are made to fast, and wear sackcloth, though it has some partial parallels in history (see note on iii. 7), suggests fiction rather than fact. Hence it is generally believed that the book is of the nature of an allegory or midrash[3] ('exposition'; R.V. translates rather unsatisfactorily, 'commentary') based very probably on some early traditions or myths,[4] and connected with the prophet Jonah to enforce certain religious truths.

[1] See Introd. to Nahum, vol. ii. p. 14.

[2] See Introd. to Daniel, p. 118.

[3] A *midrash* (the term occurs only in the Old Testament in 2 Chron. xiii. 22; xxiv. 27) is 'an imaginative development of a thought or theme suggested by Scripture, especially a didactic or homiletic exposition, or an edifying religious story. Tobit and Susannah are thus Midrashim' (Driver, *L. O. T.* p. 497). See Introd. to Daniel, p. 125.

[4] Some commentators have connected the story of Jonah and the fish with the Babylonian myth of Oannes, or with that of Arion, or even that of Perseus and Andromeda, which was located at Joppa. Such tales appear to have been not uncommon among sailors. But the question is purely speculative, and of no importance in the interpretation of the book. A clay seal bearing

Its moral and religious lessons.

So considered, the most obvious lessons conveyed by the book are ethical. Jonah is an interesting and helpful study of character. Highly endued spiritually as a prophet, morally he was a coward. He ran away from an arduous and dangerous duty. Brought back to his senses by the judgement and mercy of God, the more manly side of his character is manifested by allowing himself to be thrown overboard, and then screwing up his courage to execute his mission. But his very success he counts as failure because the event proved his prophecy to be false. The utter selfishness of such a petty spirit is made clear to him by the symbolism of the gourd. He cared for its loss because it had made him comfortable; he did not care for the loss of Nineveh, though it involved the sacrifice of so many thousands of innocent beings, because the loss would have proved him to be a true prophet. But if Jonah could pity the plant, should not Jehovah have compassion on a great city?

But besides these ethical lessons are others of a religious character. The book was written partly, no doubt, to rebuke that narrow spirit of Jewish exclusiveness which, though it existed before (see note on Amos ix. 7), seems to have developed largely after the Exile, and to reveal God as a merciful Father towards the heathen nations by which the Jews were surrounded. No book in the Old Testament shews a kinder spirit towards foreign nations. This is seen not only in Jonah's mission, but in the favourable light in which the heathen appear, as seen e.g. in the magnanimity of the sailors and in the ready response of the Ninevites.

Pervaded as the book is by a distinctly didactic spirit, it may be regarded as an example of that type of literature, which in early times took the form of parable or allegory [1], and in our own day has developed or degraded into the novel with a purpose. The love of a story, while common to most races, is specially characteristic of the children of the East, and in Israel particularly such tales were common.[2]

the name of Aahmes, and representing a man coming out of a sea-monster on to the land, has been recently discovered at Memphis by Prof. Flinders Petrie, who assigns it to the middle of the sixth century B.C. There is a very striking parallel to Jonah i. 7–15 in Buddhistic literature, in which a young man of Benares defies his mother, goes to sea, and is thought by the sailors, casting lots, to be the cause of their trouble. This was removed when the youth was turned adrift upon a raft.

[1] See Introd. to Daniel, p. 125 f. 'To reveal our nature to itself, it is often more effectual for the imagination to go out upon a fiction than for the memory to absorb a chronicle' (J. Martineau, *Endeavours after the Christian Life*, p. 106).

[2] Cf. 2 Sam. xii. 1–6; xiv. 6, 7; 1 Kings xx. 39–41, &c. For longer stories of such a kind, the object of which is that 'truth embodied in a tale may enter in at lowly door' to deepen piety and strengthen religious sentiment,

Its suggested symbolism[1].

But by some the book of Jonah is thought to be much more than this. It is regarded as one of those symbolisms of which the Jews were so fond.[2] According to this view, Jonah 'the Dove' signifies the Jewish nation[3]; the sea the danger of destruction which repeatedly befell Israel[4]; the sea-monster, i.e. the dragon of the subterranean ocean[5], the all-absorbing empire of Babylon which swallows up Israel, not to destroy it but to preserve it, and to give it opportunity for repentance; the disgorging after three days (cf. Hos. vi. 2) is the return from Babylon when Israel is restored to life and further opportunity (cf. Ezek. xxxvii). The link between the myth of the dragon occasionally referred to in the Old Testament (Isa. xxvii. 1; li. 9; Ezek. xxix. 3–6; xxxii. 2–8; Job vii. 12), and its application to Israel in this book, is thought to be Jer. li. 34, 'Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon . . . He hath swallowed me up like a dragon, he hath filled his maw with my delicates'; and ver. 44, 'I will do judgement upon Bel in Babylon; I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up.' Amos had called attention to the moral equality of Israel and the Gentiles before God (Amos ix. 7). Other prophets had shown that Israel was to become a blessing to the world (Isa. ii. 2–4; xi. 9, 10; xix; Mic. iv. 1–3; Zeph. ii. 11; iii. 9; Hab. ii. 14; cf. Gen. xxii. 18–22, &c.). Israel, 'the servant of Jehovah', was ordained as an apostle to the Gentiles (Isa. xlii. 4–7; xlix. 1–6; liv. 13; cf. l. 4), and was not to 'draw back' from that work (Isa. l. 5). And yet, instead of performing its mission cheerfully, Judaism took up its duty in an

we may compare those of Ruth, Esther, Judith, and Tobit. St. George Stock says that 'the religious novel is a form of literature invented by the Jews' (*Encycl. Britannica* (11th ed.), vol. 26, p. 1041).

[1] Dr. Sanday thinks that we do not 'realise either the extent to which symbolism [which he defines as indirect description] permeates the whole Bible from end to end, or how important a factor it is, especially in all those problems which have to do with the harmonising of ancient and modern, of old and new' (*Life of Christ in recent Research*, p. 3).

[2] e.g. Ezek. iv; xxiv. 3–5; xxxvii. 1–14; Jer. xiii. 3–7, &c.

[3] Cf. Hos. vii. 11; xi. 11, &c. 'In later times Jonah or Dove became a standing title for Israel. Both LXX and Targum recognise the people or the congregation in the Jonah of Ps. lvi, title. The earliest trace of Israel being called a Dove is Ps. lxviii. 13, where the people of Israel, delivered by its God from the powerful kings of Canaan, and enriched with their spoil, is called a dove (cf. lxviii. 30), whose wings [God] will cover with silver and her feathers with gold. Elsewhere the faithful community personified wishes for itself the wings of a dove, not for their beauty, but for their swiftness and for the unerring instinct which leads the doves to their retreats.' Ps. lv. 6–8. (*Encycl. Bibl.* 2567.)

[4] Cf. Isa. xliii. 2; Ps. xviii. 15; xxxii. 6; xlii. 7; lxvi. 12; lxix. 1, 2, 14; cxxiv. 4, 5; Lam. iii. 54.

[5] Cf. the Assyrian creation-epic of the contest between Marduk and Tiamat, the dragon of chaos.

ungenial spirit which grieved the All-Merciful, and sought to focus its attention on its own petty dignity and exclusiveness[1] (the gourd representing the Temple and its ordinances), and still longed to see vengeance wrought upon its enemies, and grumbled because judgement was delayed.

This symbolic interpretation is, however, not without difficulty in that it leaves much unexplained, and may seem to some to put a forced interpretation upon some of the details.

Christ's references to Jonah.

The story of Jonah was naturally very popular with the Jews, and according to the Synoptic Gospels was referred to more than once by our Lord (Matt. xii. 39-41; Luke xi. 29, 30, 32). No sign was to be given to the unbelieving Jews but the sign of the prophet Jonas. This sign is explained in Matt. xii. 40, as being the three days in which Jonah was in the whale's belly, a symbol of the three days in which Christ should rest in the grave. But in Matt. xii. 41; Luke xi. 32, the sign appears to be in the preaching of Jonah, at which the Ninevites repented, whereas the Pharisees disregarded that of Christ. It seems natural to argue from this that Christ supposed the history of Jonah to be true. This may be so. There is evidence enough to shew that as regards literary questions (see e. g. Matt. xix. 7; xxii. 45; Mark xiii. 14), botanical (Matt. xiii. 32; Mark iv. 31; Luke xiii. 19), astronomical (Matt. xiii. 6; Mark xvi. 2; cf. Jas. i. 11) and other matters (Matt. xvii. 25-27), He stood in the position of His contemporaries. It is uncertain whether this should be really explained as a conscious adaptation to their ignorance on such matters, or as due to that limited knowledge as man to which by His Incarnation He voluntarily surrendered Himself.[2] But it is not certain in this case that He did accept the historicity of the book. In using an illustration (and such at least our Lord's argument in Mark xii. 40 amounts to) it matters not whether it is drawn from history or from fiction. When a modern writer alludes to what Macbeth or Hamlet did or said, he does not commit himself to accept the historical character of either as pourtrayed by Shakespeare.

[1] The writer would, upon this hypothesis, probably protest, in the interests of prophetic universalism, against the narrowing influences of the Priestly Code which had been introduced by Ezra and Nehemiah. The book would thus resemble in purpose that of Ruth, which probably represents the opposition to the exclusive spirit of Judaism.

[2] 'When we speak of Christ "accommodating Himself to the ideas of His day", we do not mean a merely politic assumption of a particular belief for a particular purpose. We mean that the assumption was part of the outfit of His Incarnate Manhood. There was a certain circle of ideas which Jesus accepted, in the same way in which He accepted a particular language with its grammar and vocabulary' (Dr. Sanday, Hastings's *D.B.*, ii. 624).

Its comprehensive spirit.

But in whatever light the story of Jonah should be regarded, it represents the highest moral elevation reached in the line of the thought of the Deutero-Isaiah, and we may agree with Bleek that 'in no book of the Old Testament is the all-embracing love of God, which has no respect for person or nation, but is moved to mercy on all who turn to Him [might we not add also 'the meanness of a narrow selfish conceit?'] exhibited with equal impressiveness, or in a manner so nearly approaching the spirit of Christianity'.[1] For in this book in which 'prophecy may not unjustly be said to have given its highest utterance, "the prophecy of Israel quits the scene of battle", as Cornill has finely said, "as victor, and as victor in its severest struggle—that against self".'[2]

[1] Quoted by Driver, *L. O. T.* (3rd ed.) p. 303. 'One of the deepest and grandest things ever written. I should like to exclaim to any one who approaches it: Put thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground' Cornill (Hastings's *Bible Dictionary*, p. 492).

[2] G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 446.

JONAH

I. JEHOVAH'S FIRST CALL REFUSED. i—ii.

Jonah attempts to flee to Tarshish. i. 1–3.

Now the word of the LORD came unto Jonah [a] the 1
son of Amittai, saying, Arise, go to Nineveh [b], that great 2
city, and cry [c] against it; for their wickedness is come
up before me [d]. But Jonah rose up to flee unto 3
Tarshish [e] from the presence of the LORD [f]; and he
went down to Joppa [g], and found a ship [h] going to
Tarshish: so he paid the fare thereof, and went down
into it, to go with them unto Tarshish from the
presence of the LORD [f].

The ship is overtaken by a storm. i. 4–5a.

[1] Or, *hurled*

But the LORD [1] sent out a great wind into the sea, 4
and there was a mighty tempest in the sea, so that the
ship was like to be broken. Then the mariners were 5
afraid, and cried every man unto his god [i]; and they
cast forth the wares that were in the ship into the sea,
to lighten it [k] unto them.

N.B. An obelus (†) *attached to a marginal note shews that the alternative rendering or reading is preferred, or calls attention to some other important point.*

[a] See Introd. p. 104.

[b] See vol. ii. pp. 13–15. Nineveh's greatness in extent (iii. 2, 3) and in population (iv. 11) is a prominent feature of the book.

[c] i. e. 'proclaim'. The same word is rendered 'preach' in iii. 2. Cf. our word 'town-crier'.

[d] As that of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. xviii. 20, 21). Cf. Nahum iii, and see note on iii. 8. 'Every iniquity has its own voice at the hidden judgement-seat of God' (St. Gregory, quoted by Pusey).

[e] Probably Tartessus in Spain. Cf. Isa. ii. 16; xxiii. 1, 14, where see notes. Jonah, ordered to go east, seeks the furthest west.

[f] i. e. 'from Jehovah Himself', a thing deemed possible by escaping from Jehovah's Land, where He abode. (Cf. Ezek. xliii. 1–5; Hag. i. 8, 9.) For a similar thought in pre-exilic times see 1 Sam. xxvi. 19. Jonah's motive as given in iv. 2 is probably intended as an afterthought. Jonah either feared the Ninevites, or shrank from the, as it seemed, hopeless task of endeavouring to convert them, and attempted to get out of Jehovah's power of either compulsion or punishment by flight. See p. 192.

[g] The modern Jaffa, a town of great antiquity (Josh. xix. 46; 2 Kings xiv. 25; Acts ix. 36), now the port for Jerusalem. It would have been about fifty miles from Jonah's home at Gath-hepher. Cf. the myth of Andromeda and Perseus, the scene of which is placed at Joppa; see Introd., p. 105, note 4.

[h] Probably a Phoenician trading-ship.

[i] Cf. Ps. cvii. 23–30, and Shakespeare's *Tempest*, 'All lost! to prayers, to prayers! all lost!' (Act 1. Sc. i.).

[k] Cf. Acts xxvii. 18, 19.

Jonah is discovered by lot and confesses his crime.
i. 5b–10.

But Jonah was gone down into the innermost parts [a]
6 of the ship; and he lay, and was fast asleep [b]. So the
shipmaster [c] came to him, and said unto him, What
meanest thou, O sleeper? arise, call upon thy God, if
so be that God [d] will think upon us, that we perish
7 not. And they said every one to his fellow, Come, and
let us cast lots, that we may know for whose cause this
evil is upon us. So they cast lots [e], and the lot fell
8 upon Jonah. Then said they unto him, Tell us [f], we
pray thee, for whose cause this evil is upon us; what
is thine occupation? and whence comest thou? what
9 is thy country? and of what people art thou? And
he said unto them, I am an Hebrew [g]; and I fear the
LORD, the God of heaven, which hath made the sea
10 and the dry land. Then were the men exceedingly
afraid, and said unto him, What is this that thou hast
done? For the men knew that he fled from the
presence of the LORD, because he had told them [h].

By his own direction Jonah is thrown into the sea.
i. 11–16.

11 Then said they unto him, What shall we do unto
thee, that the sea may be calm unto us? for the sea

[a] See Ezek. xxxii. 23; Amos vi. 10. The word 'ship' is Aramaic.

[b] Cf. Mark iv. 38, &c. 'Jonah was peaceful, because he thought he was far from God's hand. Jesus was confident, because He knew He was hidden in God's hand' (Marti).

[c] The skipper, lit. 'the chief of the navigators (the skipper and his mates)', as distinguished from the common sailors or mariners ('salts') in verse 5.

[d] The sailors here consistently use the name Elohim. When they pray, and try to appease Jonah's God, having learnt who He was, they call Him Jehovah (ver. 14).

[e] The most usual method of divination. See Josh. vii. 14; 1 Sam. xiv. 36–46, where, as frequently, the sacred lots Urim and Thummim were employed (see LXX and *Studia Biblica*, i. p. 27). For the use among Romans, see Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.*, Art. *Sortes*. For a parallel to this part of the Jonah narrative (vers. 7–15) in Buddhistic literature, see Introd. p. 106 note.

[f] This clause is probably a gloss taken from verse 7, which has found its way into the text.

[g] The name by which Israelites were known to foreigners. Cf. Gen. xl. 15; Exod. iii. 18.

[h] Wellhausen and Nowack think this clause a later addition. It certainly at first sight appears inconsistent with their earlier question. But something of the sort is wanted. It may be merely the writer's way of supplying what he had omitted to say. It is better translated 'because he told them', i.e. at the time. The prophet's behaviour had now become manly and dignified.

grew more and more tempestuous [a]. And he said unto 12
them, Take me up, and cast me forth into the sea; so
shall the sea be calm unto you: for I know that for my
sake this great tempest is upon you. Nevertheless 13
the men rowed hard [b] to get them back to the land;
but they could not: for the sea grew more and more
tempestuous against them. Wherefore they cried 14
unto the LORD, and said, We beseech thee, O LORD [c],
we beseech thee, let us not perish for this man's life,
and lay not upon us innocent blood [d]: for thou, O
LORD, hast done as it pleased thee [e]. So they took up 15
Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea: and the sea
ceased from her raging. Then the men feared the 16
LORD exceedingly; and they offered a sacrifice unto
the LORD, and made vows [f].

Jonah is swallowed by a great fish [g]. i. 17.

[Ch. ii. 1 in Heb.] And the LORD prepared [h] a great fish to swallow up [i] 17

[a] Lit. 'was going and storming', i.e. 'not only increasingly tempestuous, but, like a thing alive and obeying its master's will, it was holding on its course, the wild waves tossing themselves, and marching on in battalions arrayed for the end for which they were sent, pursuing and demanding the runaway slave of God' (Pusey).

[b] This word 'rowed hard' is used of digging, especially into a wall like an enemy or a thief (see Ezek. viii. 8; xii. 5, 7, 12; Job xxiv. 16; Amos ix. 2), and implies here tremendous effort. They 'ploughed the main' (Pusey). Consistently with what appears to be one of the objects of the book, the heathen are here finely represented as doing their best to save Jonah (see Introd., p. 106). But their motive was partly a fear of the consequences of being treated by Jehovah as murderers (see ver. 14).

[c] The sailors recognise Jehovah as Jonah's God, who had shown His power in the storm, and whom it was necessary to appease. It does not, of course, necessarily imply a real conversion to the worship of Jehovah, as the one true God.

[d] Cf. Joel iii. 19.

[e] i.e. by the storm (ver. 4) and the lot (ver. 7). Cf. 1 Sam. iii. 18.

[f] Cf. Judg. xi. 30, 31; 1 Sam. i. 11.

[g] 'And this is the tragedy of the Book of Jonah, that a book which is made the means of one of the most sublime revelations of truth in the Old Testament should be known to most only for its connexion with a whale.... How many have missed the sublime spirit of the book in amusement or offence at its curious details' (G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 492, 495).

[h] i.e. provided or appointed. The same word is used of the gourd (iv. 6), the worm (iv. 7), and the east wind (iv. 8).

[i] Many unsatisfactory attempts have been made to explain away this statement: e.g. that Jonah dreamed it; that he was picked up by a ship, whose figure-head was a whale; that he clung to the belly of the whale. It is indeed said that the cachalot whale can easily swallow a man, and even a small boat. Instances have been recorded of sharks swallowing men and vomiting them forth alive (see Pusey). If, however, the view taken of this book in the Introduction (see pp. 105 ff.) is correct, we can afford to agree with Maurice that 'the refinements,

Jonah; and Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights [a].

Jonah prays in the fish's belly [b]. ii. 1–9.

2 Then Jonah prayed unto the LORD his God out of the
2 fish's belly. And he said,

I called [1] by reason of mine affliction unto the LORD,
And he answered me;
Out of the belly of [2] hell [c] cried I
And thou heardest my voice.

[1] Or, *out of mine affliction*
[2] Heb. *Sheol.*†

3 For [d] thou didst cast me into the depth,
In the heart of the seas,
And the flood [e] was round about me;
All thy waves and thy billows passed over me.
4 And I said, I am cast out from before thine eyes;
Yet I will look again toward thy holy temple [f].
5 The waters compassed me about, even to the soul
The deep was round about me;
The weeds were wrapped about my head.

speculations, explanations, arguments respecting the nature and the possibility of the incident are wearisome and humiliating' (*Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament*, p. 344).

[a] Cf. Matt. xii. 40; see Introd., p. 108.

[b] It is probable, as De Wette, Kuenen, and others have supposed, that verse 10 originally followed immediately on verse 1, and that the psalm (verses 2–9) is a later insertion. This psalm is obviously not a prayer, but a thanksgiving for recovery either from shipwreck (or at least a death from drowning), if the language of verses 3, 5, 6, is to be taken literally, or from sickness, if that language is to be taken metaphorically. It is difficult enough to imagine Jonah as praying at all in the belly of a fish. It is far more difficult to conceive his thanking Jehovah for recovery from drowning, after he had been three days and three nights in the fish's belly. It matters little whether the psalm was afterwards added by the original writer or by a later editor. Its appropriateness to Jonah's case was probably suggested by a misinterpretation of the phrase 'out of the belly of Sheol', which was taken to mean 'out of the belly of the fish'. We have a parallel in the application of the so-called Song of Hannah from the supposed allusion to her in the words, 'the barren hath borne seven' (1 Sam. ii. 5). The psalm itself is probably late. It is written by a writer well versed in the Psalms. Not only are there many reminiscences of the language, but there are several more or less direct quotations; especially Ps. xlii. 7b in verse 3b; Ps. xxxi. 22a in 4a; Ps. xxxi. 6a in verse 8a; Ps. l. 14 in verse 9. And yet the psalm shews evident signs of originality and poetic power. Beyond the fact that it was a late composition there are no certain criteria for fixing its date.

[c] A poetical hyperbole for being at the point of death (cf. ver. 6b). Sheol is compared to a monster devouring the souls of men (cf. Isa. v. 14), just as we speak of the jaws of death.

[d] More correctly, 'And'. Wellhausen thinks that a verse has fallen out here, expressing some such thought as 'I sinned against Thee, I deserved this punishment.'

[e] i.e. the ocean current, or perhaps the Euphrates. See note [b].

[f] Cf. Ps. xliii. 4, &c.; Ps. v. 7; Isa. xxxviii. 20. Here either literally the Temple at Jerusalem or the dwelling of God from which prayers are heard. Cf. Ps. xviii. 6. The words if literally understood would suggest that the psalm was composed by a poet in the Southern Kingdom.

I went down to the bottoms of the mountains [a]; 6
The earth with her bars [b] *closed* upon me for ever:
Yet hast thou brought up my life from [1] the pit [c],
O LORD my God.
When my soul fainted within me [d], 7
I remembered the LORD:
And my prayer came in unto thee,
Into thine holy temple [e].
They that regard lying vanities [f] 8
Forsake their own mercy [g].
But I will sacrifice unto thee with the voice of 9
thanksgiving;
I will pay that which I have vowed [h].
Salvation is of the LORD.

[1] Or, *corruption*

The fish disgorges Jonah. ii. 10.

And the LORD spake unto the fish, and it vomited 10
out Jonah upon the dry land [i].

II. JEHOVAH'S SECOND CALL OBEYED. iii.

Jonah foretells the destruction of Nineveh. iii. 1–4.

And the word of the LORD came unto Jonah the **3**
second time, saying, Arise, go unto Nineveh, that 2
great city, and [2] preach unto it the preaching that I bid
thee. So Jonah arose, and went unto Nineveh, 3
according to the word of the LORD. Now Nineveh
was [3] an exceeding great [k] city, of three days' journey.
And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's 4

[2] Or, *cry* See ch. i. 2.

[3] Heb. *a city great unto God.*

[a] Mountains were regarded as the pillars of the world (Job ix. 6; xxvi. 11), having their foundations firmly planted in the deep, which was not only the open sea, but was also believed to be under the earth. Cf. Exod. xx. 4.

[b] From the side of the earth they were the gates of Sheol (Isa. xxxviii. 10), but from the side of Sheol they were the gates of earth with their bars which closed upon him.

[c] i. e. the grave. See note on verse 2.

[d] The language here seems more suitable to a sick than to a drowning man (see note on vers. 2–9). The weaker he felt, the more earnestly he prayed.

[e] See note on verse 4.

[f] i. e. court or worship idols. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 21.

[g] i. e. Jehovah. Cf. Ps. cxliv. 2, where the same word (R.V. 'loving-kindness') is applied to Jehovah.

[h] Cf. Job xxii. 27.

[i] See notes on i. 17 and ii. 1, and Introd., p. 107.

[k] Lit. 'great to God': i. e. regarded as great by God (cf. Acts vii. 20, marg.). The Israelites expressed superlative ideas by using the name of God: e. g. 'rivers, mountains, cedars, &c. of God.' Cf. Ps. lxviii. 15; lxv. 9; lxxx. 10. The past tense shews that Nineveh was no longer in existence when the book was written. See Introd., p. 105.

journey [a], and he cried, and said, Yet forty [b] days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.

The repentance of the Ninevites. iii. 5–9.

5 And the people of Nineveh believed God [c]; and they proclaimed a fast [d], and put on sackcloth, from
6 the greatest of them even to the least of them. [1] And the tidings reached the king of Nineveh [e], and he arose from his throne, and laid his robe from him, and
7 covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes [f]. And he made proclamation and [2] published through Nineveh by the decree [g] of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast [h], herd nor flock, taste any thing: let them not feed, nor drink water:
8 but let them be covered with sackcloth, both man and beast, and let them cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the
9 violence [i] that is in their hands. Who knoweth whether God will not turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not?

[1] Or, *For word came unto the king &c.*

[2] Heb. *said.*

God accepts their repentance. iii. 10.

10 And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented [k] of the evil, which he said he would do unto them; and he did it not.

[a] As the circuit of the irregular quadrangle composing the mounds of Kouyunjik, Nimrûd, Khorsabad, &c., which probably represent ancient Nineveh is about sixty miles, the dimensions given by Diodorus Siculus, that is probably what is meant here. Others think that verse 4 implies that this must refer to the dimensions across the city, which would be an enormous exaggeration. Cf. iv. 11. See Introd. to Nahum, vol. ii. p. 14.

[b] LXX 'three', a very improbable variant, probably derived from the preceding verse.

[c] See Matt. xii. 41; Luke xi. 32; Introd., p. 108.

[d] Cf. Joel i. 14; Jer. xxxvi. 9.

[e] On this title, see Introd., p. 105. This was either Shalmaneser III, Assur-dan III, or Assur-nirari II. All that we know of these kings is that they left little mark on history either by wars or buildings. They may therefore have been effeminate and given to luxury.

[f] Cf. Job xlii. 6; Dan. ix. 3, &c.

[g] Cf. Dan. iii. 10, 29. But the people had already forestalled their king (ver. 5).

[h] Herodotus (ix. 24) and Plutarch (on Alexander) have both given instances of animals being associated with men in the signs of public mourning. Cf. Virgil, *Eclog.* v. 24–26. There is a prominence given in this book to animals sharing human fortunes. See iv. 11; cf. Joel i. 20; Judith iv. 10.

[i] The characteristic sin of Nineveh. See Nah. ii. 11, 12; iii. 1; Isa. x. 13 14, and vol. ii. p. 13.

[k] Cf. Exod. xxxii. 14; Amos vii. 3; Jer. xviii. 8.

III. JEHOVAH'S LESSON OF DIVINE MERCY. iv.

Jonah's angry disappointment. iv. 1–5.

But it displeased Jonah exceedingly, and he was 4 1
angry [a]. And he prayed unto the LORD, and said, I 2
pray thee, O LORD, was not this my saying [b], when I
[1] Or, *was beforehand in fleeing* was yet in my country? Therefore [c] I [1] hasted to flee
unto Tarshish: for I knew that thou art a gracious
God, and full of compassion, slow to anger, and
plenteous in mercy, and repentest thee of the evil.
Therefore now, O LORD, take, I beseech thee, my life [d] 3
from me; for it is better for me to die than to live.
[2] Or, *Art thou greatly angry?* And the LORD said, [2] Doest thou well to be angry [e]? 4
Then Jonah went out of the city, and sat on the 5
east side of the city [f], and there made him a booth [g],
and sat under it in the shadow, till he might see what
would become of the city.

The lesson of the gourd. iv. 6–11.

[3] Or, *Palma Christi* Heb *kikayon.* And the LORD God prepared [h] a [3] gourd [i], and made it 6
to come up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow
over his head, to deliver [k] him from his evil case. So
Jonah was exceeding glad because of the gourd. But 7
God prepared [h] a worm [l] when the morning rose the

[a] In his selfish conceit he regarded it as a personal grievance that his words had proved untrue in the event. He may also be represented as feeling morbid and irritably jealous that Jehovah should shew mercy to Israel's heathen foes. Contrast Christ weeping over the doomed Jerusalem.

[b] i.e. 'what I said to myself'.

[c] This, if not altogether an afterthought, is hardly likely to have been the chief reason of his flight. See note on i. 3.

[d] Cf. Num. xi. 15; 1 Kings xix. 4, where in something of the same spirit Elijah looks upon the apparent failure of his mission as a purely personal matter.

[e] Gentle banter to the sulking prophet. 'Such men are best treated by a caustic gentleness, a little humour, a little rallying, a leaving to nature, and a taking unaware in their own professed prejudices. All these—I dare to think even the humour—are present in God's treatment of Jonah' (G. A. Smith, p. 539).

[f] There were hills on this side.

[g] A rough structure made of branches and leaves, such as are still used on the roofs of Oriental houses in hot weather, and were used at the Feast of Booths (Deut. xvi. 13–15; Lev. xxiii. 39–43).

[h] See note on i. 17.

[i] Probably the bottle-gourd, which is often placed before booths. It grows very rapidly, and its broad leaves, resembling those of the vine, afford good shelter. Others (e.g. Cheyne) think that the castor-oil plant is meant.

[k] There is an assonance in this word with 'shadow'.

[l] Perhaps collectively for worms. See Deut. xxviii. 39; Isa. xiv. 11. The worm or worms attacked the root, and it withered at once.

next day, and it smote the gourd, that it withered.
8 And it came to pass, when the sun arose, that God prepared [a] a sultry east wind [b]; and the sun beat upon the head of Jonah, that he fainted, and requested for himself that he might die, and said, It is better for me
9 to die than to live. And God said to Jonah, Doest thou well to be angry for the gourd? And he said,
10 I do well to be angry even unto death [c]. And the LORD said, Thou hast had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow; which came up in a night, and perished in a night [d]:
11 and should not I have pity on Nineveh, that great city; wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand [e]; and also much cattle [f]?

[a] See note on i. 17.

[b] i.e. sirocco. See note on Jer. iv. 11.

[c] Jonah was angry with God for having destroyed the gourd. The wish for death, formerly the result of morbid self-consciousness, is now the result of physical torture, but both were purely selfish. His feeling for the gourd was simply a form of self-love, just as his anger at the salvation of Nineveh had been. It is, however, accepted as genuine, in order to teach the obvious lesson. 'If you can care so much for an ephemeral plant which you have neither planted nor cultivated, how much more shall I pity creatures—human beings, including children, and cattle—whom I have called into being.' The contrasts are emphatic, Thou, the short-lived gourd, that cost thee nothing; and I, the dense population of Nineveh, the object of My continual care.

[d] This idiom is forcible: 'which son of a night was, and son of a night perished'. Here God's schooling in patient, tender love is seen. Just as Nathan is sent with his parable to make David condemn himself (2 Sam. xii), so to Jonah, the gourd, the worm, the sirocco, and the sun's heat are sent to make his pity for the plant condemn his want of compassion for Nineveh's teeming multitudes. See note on i. 17.

[e] i.e. quite young and innocent children and equally innocent animals. At this rate the whole population would have been about 1,200,000, an improbably, if not incredibly, large one. See Introd., p. 105, and note on iii. 3.

[f] See notes on iii. 7, and Joel i. 20. Cf. Matt. vi. 26, &c.

'He prayeth best, who loveth best
All creatures great and small,
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all.'
S. T. Coleridge, *Ancient Mariner*, Part VII.

DANIEL

INTRODUCTION

1. *The difficulty and contents of the Book.*

To discuss adequately the many and grave questions concerning authorship, date, unity, language, historical and textual criticism, &c., which this book, perhaps more than any other in the Old Testament, raises, would require greater space than the character and nature of this edition of the Hebrew Prophets will permit.[1] All that we desire to do is to give the reader what is believed will commend itself as the most moderate and reasonable view of such eminently sober and learned scholars as Bevan, Driver, Delitzsch, Sanday, Curtis, Kamphausen, Charles, &c., with such occasional discussion of subjects as seems desirable.

In our English Bible, as in all other translations since the LXX, Daniel follows Ezekiel as the fourth of the major Prophets. But in the Jewish canon it stands in the third division[2], the *Kethubhim* ('Writings') or *Hagiographa* ('Sacred Writings'). It contains the story of a captive Hebrew (with three of his companions) at the court of Babylon, and a series of visions or 'revelations' attributed to him, the presumption being, from the unity of the book, that the whole was written by himself[3]. In addition to the narratives which form the greater part of the book, the visions give a rapid survey of the history (largely presented by symbols) of those great world-powers which were connected with the fate of Judaea, probably from the Babylonian Exile to the time of the Maccabees—a period of nearly 400 years—together with the writer's confident

[1] See Preface to vol i. For a fairly exhaustive treatment of these questions the reader is referred to the able and lucid commentaries on Daniel by Bevan (1892), Driver (1901), and Charles (1912); to the articles on Daniel and the Man of Sin in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1898); to the articles on Daniel and Antichrist in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (1899); and to Farrar's helpful treatise in the *Expositor's Bible* (1895). For the traditional view of the book the works by Pusey (1869, 'extremely learned and thorough', Driver); by H. Deane, in the '*Men of the Bible*' series (1888); and by Keil (1869), should be read. Concerning the voluminous literature which the book has called forth Dr. Curtis gives Mr. C. H. H. Wright's pregnant warning that 'on no other book has so much worthless matter been written in the shape of exegesis'.

[2] The other two divisions are the *Torah* ('the Law') and the *Nebhiim* ('the Prophets'). The *Hagiographa*, or Miscellaneous Scriptures, are variously reckoned, but generally consist of the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles.

[3] See below, § 8, *The character of the Book*, p. 124.

anticipation of the triumph of his people over their enemies and the establishment of the Messianic Kingdom, in which the righteous, both living and dead, would receive their reward.

2. *Its date.*

Most modern scholars are now convinced of what the Neo-platonist Porphyry so early as the third century A.D. saw, that the book was written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.). For while the author depicts, with great accuracy and no inconsiderable detail, the reign of this king and his two Egyptian campaigns,[1] his references to the time of Daniel in exile at Babylon are frequently of more than doubtful accuracy.[2] His statements about the captivity of Daniel (i. 1); the position of Belshazzar[3] (v. 1; vii. 1; viii. 1), and his relationship to Nebuchadrezzar[4] (v. 2, 11, 18); the insanity of Nebuchadrezzar (iv. 28–33); the reign of Darius the Mede[5] (v. 31; vi. 1, 28; ix. 1), and his relationship to Xerxes (ix. 1); the existence of the Median Empire, as such, after the fall of Babylon (v. 31; vi. 28); are all difficult to substantiate, and some of them are quite impossible to reconcile with the knowledge which is obtained from reliable sources.[6] He apparently shares the Jewish ignorance of true chronology prior to the establishment of the Seleucid era in 312 B.C., and like Demetrius (who made an error of 73 years in placing the date of the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.)), and Josephus (who places the reign of Cyrus (558–528 B.C.) forty to fifty years too early), the author of Daniel makes the period between the Return from Babylon in 537 B.C. and the murder of the high priest Onias III in 171 B.C. too long, viz. 434 years (i.e. 62 weeks,

[1] Especially in xi. 21–39, with which vii. 8, 20–25; viii. 9–12, 23–25; ix. 26, 27 (all being references to the same king) should be compared.

[2] 'It is indeed highly suggestive that just those occurrences which are the most remote from the assumed standpoint of the writer are most correctly stated, while the nearer we approach the author's supposed time the more inaccurate does he become . . . and strikingly enough, the predictions in the last section (x–xii), relating to future events, become inaccurate as soon as the author finishes the section describing the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes' (J. D. Prince, *Encycl. Britann.*, 11th edition, Art. *Daniel*). See note on xi. 40–45.

[3] Belshazzar was never king; he is called 'the King's son' till he died.

[4] A prayer of *Nabonidus* (not Nebuchadrezzar) for his son Belshazzar is found on one of the inscriptions as follows: 'In the heart of Belsar-uzur, my first-born, the offspring of my body, implant the fear of thy great divinity; may he not incline to sin; may he be filled with the fulness of life.'

[5] There is no room for Darius the Mede; the contract-tables pass from Nabonidus, the last king, to Cyrus, King of Anshan, afterwards of Persia, without any break.

[6] See the notes on the several passages here cited.

see ix. 25) instead of 366, the actual number.[1] Moreover, the names of Belteshazzar (i. 7; iv. 8; v. 12), Ashpenaz (i. 3), Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego (i. 7; iii. 14) also present grave difficulties.[2] There is also in the book what has been called 'a magnificent unconcern about historical possibilities'. How, for instance, could Daniel, who constantly remained loyal to Jehovah (i. 8; vi. 5, &c.), be made chief of the heathen magi (ii. 48)? How could he secure that what he had seen and recorded should remain sealed as a secret for centuries (viii. 26; xii. 4)? No subsequent reference is made to the offices—ruler and chief praefect—mentioned in ii. 48, not even in ch. iii, where the absence of Daniel elected to be 'in the gate of the king' (ii. 49) is unaccountable. So also is the omission to summon Daniel and his companions to interpret Nebuchadrezzar's dream (ii. 2–11), when in the previous chapter (i. 29) they had just been declared to be 'ten times wiser' than all the rest of the magicians put together. The versatility with which the Babylonian and Persian despots decree the worship of the God of heaven (vi. 26, 27: cf. iii. 28, 29; iv. 34–37); of a golden image (iii. 1–7); and of Daniel, a captive Jew (ii. 46) is also very extraordinary.

3. *Inference from language.*

The language in which the book is written also points to its late origin. The Hebrew resembles that of the Chronicler who wrote shortly before the beginning of the Greek period, 332 B.C. (Delitzsch). The Aramaic[3] of ii. 4—vii is the West-Syrian dialect and therefore that used in Palestine, but not that used at the Babylonian court in the sixth century B.C. Moreover, no less than fifteen Persian words (many of which occur in the Aramaic section) and three Greek words (iii. 5, 7, 10, 15) are found in the book. And, as Dr. Driver says, 'the Persian words *presuppose* a period after the Persian empire had been well-established; the Greek words *demand*, the Hebrew *supports*, and the Aramaic *permits* a date after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great (332 B.C.).'

4. *Other evidence of late date.*

Further clear proofs of the late date of the book are (1) its position in the third and latest section of the Jewish canon already referred to; (2) its doctrine of tutelary angels or watchers severally presiding over different countries[4] (x. 13–21, &c.); (3) the naming of the angels Gabriel and Michael (viii. 16; ix. 21; x. 13, 21); (4) the reference to what is apparently some approach to a definite

[1] See notes on ix. 24.

[2] See the notes on the passages here cited. For the form Nebuchadnezzar see note on i. 1.

[3] See § 10, p. 129.

[4] A doctrine which the Jews, in the opinion of some, derived from Zoroastrianism. See p. 124.

canon of Scripture, which included Jeremiah and probably Leviticus[1] (ix. 2), and which was probably the foundation of the Haphtarah or Prophetic lesson which still forms part of the Synagogue worship; (5) the fact that Jesus Ben-Sirach, writing about 170 B.C., makes no reference to Daniel among the Hebrew heroes and saints whom he enumerates, though he mentions his contemporaries Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Ecclus. xlix); (6) the further fact that no post-exilic writer before the Maccabean age ever mentions Daniel.[2] (7) How far removed the writer was from the time of the Babylonian Exile may be seen in his use of the word 'Chaldean'. For while in Jeremiah and Ezekiel the term is identical with Babylonian, the name of a nationality, in Daniel, as in Strabo, Diodorus, and other later classical writers,[3] the 'Chaldeans' are a special class of wise men or astrologers. It is as though an ancient writer in Egypt had used the word 'Egyptian' in its sense of gipsy, some hundreds of years before it came, as in our Tudor legislation, to have this meaning.

6. *The historical standpoint.*

From these and other considerations the opinion is increasingly gaining ground that the book, though written from the imaginary standpoint of the Exile, was composed about the time of the terrible persecution of the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes, and of their resistance under the heroic Maccabees. As so little is said about this splendid resistance (xi. 34), and as the closing days of Antiochus are referred to in such vague terms (xi. 40-45), the date may be more closely fixed as in or about 167 B.C., just after the beginning of the Maccabean revolt (167 B.C.) and before the defeat of Lysias by Judas Maccabaeus (165 B.C.), in the time, that is, described in 1 Macc. i—iv. 27. Neither the Greek Kingdom of Alexander, nor, of course, the kingdoms of the Diadochi which succeeded it, had any existence in the days of the exilic Daniel (*c.* 597 B.C.), and we may pertinently ask with Dr. Cheyne, 'Why should one of the Jewish exiles at Babylon single out the episode of Antiochus Epiphanes in preference to the far more important struggle with Rome (which in A.D. 70 closed the Jewish dispensation)? And how is it that the revelation of future events ceases to be in accordance with history precisely when we come to the passage (xi. 40–45) which relates to the closing years of the Syrian King?'[4] For in each of the five prophetic pieces (ii, vii—xii) the range of vision is the same, reaching down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, 'in whom afflicted Israel discerned the culmination of

[1] See notes on ix. 2, 11, 24.
[2] On the references to Daniel in Ezekiel see p. 130 and note on Ezek. xiv. 14.
[3] *Cum grege Chaldaeo*, Juvenal, *Satir.* x. 96. See note on i. 4.
[4] *Encycl. Britann.* (9th edition), Art. *Daniel*.

all that had been hostile to God in all history, and . . . with Epiphanes's destruction, which is regarded as imminent, the dawn of the Messianic time is expected'.[1]

When the Persian Empire was overthrown (333 B.C.) the Jews were brought under the Grecian ascendancy, and after the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.) Palestine became the fighting-ground of the Egyptian and Syrian dynasties which succeeded to part of his dominion. At first the Ptolemies obtained possession of the Holy Land, but after the battle of Panium (199 B.C.) Palestine fell to the Seleucidae of Syria. For a time the Jews preferred their Syrian to their Egyptian conquerors. But when the Seleucidae attempted to bring Judaea under the influence of Greek civilisation and commerce they resisted. Antiochus Epiphanes[2] (175–164 B.C.) determined to overcome this Jewish exclusiveness and obstinacy. He issued a decree throughout his kingdom that 'in religion, law, and custom all should be one people', and attempted to force upon the Jews the worship of heathen deities. An influential minority in Jerusalem sought to curry favour with Antiochus and desired the Hellenization of their race (see note on ix. 27). Misled by these he resorted to measures of persecution, and forbade, under penalty of death, the observance of circumcision and the Sabbath, abstinence from swine's flesh, and even the possession of copies of the old Hebrew Law. Circumcised children with their mothers were hurled from the walls of Jerusalem, and an image of the Olympian Zeus with a small altar[3] (*βωμός*) were set up on the great altar of burnt-offering (1 Macc. i. 33–59), and, to outrage further the religious susceptibilities of the Jews, pigs were slaughtered within the Temple precincts, swine's flesh forced into the mouths of reluctant worshippers, its broth sprinkled on copies of the Law, and the Scriptures publicly burnt. It is even said that one huge sow was specially chosen, and her blood poured upon the great brazen altar and even within the Holy of Holies. It was such an

[1] *Encycl. Biblica*, vol. i, col. 1005.

[2] 'Antiochus IV was one of those strange characters in whom an eccentricity touching insanity on the left and genius on the right combined with absolute power and lawless passion to produce a portentous result, thus bearing out the two names by which he was known, *Epiphanes* 'the Brilliant' and *Epimanes* 'the Madman' (Stanley, *Jewish Church*, vol. iii. p. 248). See notes on vii. 8 and xi. 36.

[3] See notes on viii. 13 and xii. 11. 'Gesenius, Bertholdt, Grätz, and others explain the 'abomination' of a statue of Zeus; Hitzig, Hilgenfeld, Bleek, Kuenen, of an altar. The insertion of the didactic story of Nebuchadrezzar's golden image slightly confirms the former view . . . Altars and idols necessarily went together, and the phrase of the Greek translator of the Hebrew original in 1 Macc. i. 54 (*βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*; cf. *τὸ βδέλυγμα*, vi. 7) might be used equally well of both or of either. The statement in 1 Macc. i. 59 is not destructive of this theory, i.e. of the image as well as the altar' (Cheyne, *Encycl. Biblica*, i. 23).

'abomination of desolation[1]' (1 Macc. i. 54; Dan. ix. 27; xi. 31; xii. 11: cf. Mark xiii. 14) which evoked the splendid religious patriotism of the Jews, and by the magnificent heroism of the Maccabees the independence of Judaea under the Asmonean dynasty (c. 167–165 B.C.) was secured. (See note on xii. 13.)

7. *The aim of the Book.*

The object of the writer was therefore to assure his people at a time when their very existence as a nation was threatened (1 Macc. iii. 35, 36), that the God who had overruled the past was ordering the present, and would direct the future which should see the triumphant establishment of the Messianic Kingdom. It would therefore be quite wrong to suppose that the book contains no genuine predictions; for the author writes at a time when the Jews were suffering very severely and when their religion was proscribed. And it is in their distress that he not only offers consolation, but also definitely assures them that within three and a half years of the time at which he is speaking (vii. 25; viii. 14; ix. 27; xii. 7) their trials will be over (see note on viii. 14) and their worship restored.[2] It was by the Messianic hope (ii. 44; vii. 13, &c.) that the author sought to sustain the faith and patience of his deeply tried compatriots. The golden age, so long expected and so often postponed, would shortly dawn; for God, who ordereth all things both in heaven and earth (ii. 20–23), would finally overthrow injustice and tyranny and begin the reign of universal righteousness and peace. The foreshortening of the future in realising this ideal is only in accordance with what we find in the earlier prophets. Isaiah and Micah thought the Messianic Kingdom would come when the Assyrian peril was passed.[3] The prophets of the Exile pictured it as coming when the Jews were restored to Palestine.[4] So the writer of Daniel, with the persecution of his people and the desecration of their sanctuary ever before him, thought that the everlast-

[1] 'The phrase (an appalling abomination [*shiqquts shomēm*, xii. 11]) appears to be an intentional alteration of *Baal shāmem*, "heaven's lord". That this was a current title of Zeus may be inferred from the Syriac of 2 Macc. vi. 2, where the temple at Jerusalem is called by the emissary of Antiochus "the temple of be'el shemīn". The author of Daniel contemptuously says, "Call it not *heaven's lord*, but *an appalling abomination*!" "abomination" or detestable thing meaning image of a false god. Cf. 1 Kings xi. 5; 2 Kings xxiii. 13' (Cheyne, *Encycl. Biblica*, i. 23).

[2] The re-dedication of the Temple (165 B.C.) was almost certainly subsequent to the writing of the book. See Kamphausen, *Encycl. Biblica*, vol. i. col. 1013. For similar predictions of time see Isa. viii. 4; xvi. 14; xxi. 16; xxix. 1–5, and cf. Isa. xl. 1, 2; xli. 2, 3, 8–11, 25; xliv. 28; xlv. 4, 13.

[3] Isa. xi. 1–10, see x. 28–34; xxx. 19–26, see verse 31; xxxii. 1–8, see xxxi. 8; Mic. v. 4–7.

[4] Jer. xxiii. 3–8; xxxiii. 13–26; Ezek. xl–xlviii. Cf. Obad. 19–21; Isa. xl. 2–11, 31; xliv. 28; xlv. 4, 13.

ing inheritance of the saints would be revealed when this Syrian tyranny was overpast.

Not unlike the Apocalypse of St. John, this book 'is dominated by an over-mastering sense of a universal purpose which overrules all the vicissitudes of human history, the rise and fall of dynasties, the conflicts of nations, and the calamities that overtake the faithful.'[1] It is in fact a theodicy, a vindication of God in respect of this world's organization and development. It exhibits in one comprehensive scheme the rise and fall of successive empires in the unfolding of Divine Providence, and has been justly regarded as the first attempt to write a philosophy of history. For its conception of national personalities (in which different nations are impersonated as tutelary angels[2] (x. 13, 20, 21; xii. 1) represents a fact, which, difficult as it may be to explain, is yet true to experience, and which is ever seeking to express itself. This fact is that there is a spirit pervading a community or an institution which is different from the spirit of its individual components. When, for instance, we speak of the *genius* of Rome or of the Anglo-Saxon race, we imply that the psychology of man collectively is not infrequently surprisingly different from the psychology of man as an individual.[3]

8. *The character of the Book.*

The unity of the book is seen in spite of the fact that while throughout the first six chapters Daniel is invariably spoken of in the third person, throughout the last six chapters, with three exceptions, he always speaks of himself in the first person. The same alternation occurs in Thucydides and in numerous ancient inscriptions.[4] The visions (vii—xii) presuppose some such account of Daniel's personality and life as we find in the earlier section (i—vi), and the unity of the two sections is further seen from the fact that the substance of the dream of the composite image (ch. ii) is repeated

[1] Ottley, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 332.

[2] See note on viii. 16.

[3] See a letter in the *Spectator* (Jan. 22, 1910), the writer of which alludes to 'a very fascinating history of Paris which conceives the *Ville Lumière* as a personality playing a conspicuous part through the ages in the drama of France and of European civilisation'. Mr. G. K. Chesterton (*Daily News*, Oct. 14, 1911), too, bears witness to the same truth. 'There really are psychological difficulties in democracy,' he says, 'as that a man elected by a crowd will often act very differently from the crowd; and (what is yet more remarkable) the crowd itself will act differently from the sum of the persons composing it.' 'Crowds', says Le Bon, 'are sometimes accessible to a much loftier morality than that of which the isolated individual is capable' (*Psychologie des foules*, p. 46). 'Societies have, *qua* societies, a life of their own inclusive of and superadded to that of their individual members' (Carpenter, *The Art of Creation*, p. 99).

[4] In Ezra, where the same alternation is found, the variation is due to the different sources of the book.

in the vision of the four beasts (ch. viii) and that ii. 43 is evidently a reference to the unhappy marriages described in xi. 6, 17. The homiletical or didactic purpose of each section is also the same.[1] Lastly, whatever explanation is given of the Aramaic passage [2] (ii. 4—vii), it serves to emphasize the unity of the two sections.

In spite, however, of this general unity of aim and purpose the book consists of ten detached and more or less independent pictures.[3] Each incident or vision is a separate *Haggadah* [4] or etho-poetic narration, possibly based on a real tradition. And yet, like the Parables of Christ, they are not necessarily dependent upon historic fact for their inculcation of moral or religious truth. For, as Farrar well says, 'a fiction which is true to human experience may be as rich in spiritual meaning as a literal history.'[5] We no more degrade the majesty of the Book of Daniel if we regard it as largely a creation of the imagination than we degrade the story of the Prodigal Son when we speak of it as a Parable.[6]

The narrative section in particular, so impressively fascinating with its 'great strong fresco strokes', was eminently fitted to teach lessons of courage and faithfulness, and to lift the lives of those for whom it was originally written 'above the oppressive present to the heights of a glowing piety and a strong spiritual faith'. The stories remind us of those early ones in Genesis[7], and, like them, some of

[1] Curtis, Hastings's *D. B.*, Art. *Daniel.*

[2] See § 10, 'The bilingual character of the Book', p. 129.

[3] Compare, e.g., ii. 25 with i. 20.

[4] The Midrash (exposition; see Introd. to Jonah, p. 105) consisted of two branches: (1) the *Haggadah* (narrative with a purpose, homily), which embraced historical and other traditions, folk-lore, &c.; (2) the *Halachah* (walking, way, conduct), which dealt with legal and ritual matters. The former, being the more popular, is often itself styled the Midrash.

[5] See Introd. to Jonah, p. 106. 'Interest in pure history did not exist among the writers of antiquity, certainly not among the writers of the East. What we call an historical conscience is a modern discovery. In Hebrew historical literature the past was seen in the light of the present and the future' (Von Soden, *Books of the New Testament*).

[6] It should be remembered that we are not in fact explicitly told by St. Luke that it is a Parable. See Luke xv. 11, 'And He said, A certain man had two sons', &c. See Introduction to Jonah, p. 106. Dr. Prince calls *Daniel* 'a consolatory political pamphlet', the writer of which 'moulded some of the legends then extant about the life and activity of some misty spiritual leader of the captive Jews at Babylon into such a form as should be best suited to a didactic purpose'. In the apocalyptic section (vii—xii) it is quite evident that the author 'is here giving a detailed account of historical events which may easily be recognised through the thin veil of prophetic mystery thrown lightly around them' (*Encycl. Britann.*, 11th edition, Art. *Daniel*).

[7] 'The points of resemblance between ch. ii and Gen. xl—xli are very striking. In both accounts we have a young Hebrew raised by the favour of a heathen king to great political prominence owing to his extraordinary God-given ability to interpret dreams. In both versions the heathen astrologers make the first attempt to solve the difficulty, which results in failure,

them may have had a historical basis. Older materials, which tradition placed at his disposal[1], may have been used by the author who, availing himself of a form of literary artifice not infrequent among ancient writers, chose the character of the exilic Daniel 'to gain weight for the ethical and religious truths which he desired to set forth'. To regard such works as forgeries, like Ireland's *Vortigern*, Chatterton's *Rowley*, and Macpherson's *Ossian*, is to betray a strange want of literary perspective or apprehension. No one would dream of imputing fraudulent motives to Xenophon or Plato for writing treatises in the name of Socrates. An even closer parallel to Daniel is found in the Aeneid of Virgil, where Aeneas receives prophecies concerning the future greatness of Rome. The historical novel of modern times may serve also as an illustration. For to personate dramatically a character, whether historical or unhistorical, has ever been regarded as a legitimate form of literary expression[2], and as by no means necessarily involving any *animus decipiendi*. While, to widen further the analogy, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Bickersteth's *Yesterday, To-day, and For Ever*, may be cited as modern illustrations of more or less imaginative works being used as vehicles for bringing home to the human spirit the providential mysteries with which the writers felt themselves to be inspired.

whereupon the pious Israelite, being summoned to the royal presence, in both cases through the friendly intervention of a court official, triumphantly explains the mystery to the king's satisfaction' (*Encycl. Britann.*, 11th edition, Art. *Daniel*).

[1] The legend of Aḥiḳar, the wise and virtuous vezir of Sennacherib and Esar-haddon, kings of Assyria, may be specially mentioned (see note on ii. 48). It is very widespread, being found in Democritus, Strabo, and Menander, in the Koran, the Arabian Nights, and the *Life of Aesop*. Traces of it are supposed to be discovered even in the New Testament (Matt. xviii. 21–35, &c.) and the Talmud. Aḥiḳar (or Achiacharus) is claimed to be the nephew of Tobit, in the apocryphal book bearing whose name he is brought in wherever possible (i. 21, 22; ii. 10; xi. 18; xiv. 10), and was probably known to the author of Daniel. The story existed in Aramaic in the fifth century B.C., for it is found among the Hebrew papyri recently unearthed by the German mission to Elephantine (see note on Isa. xix. 18). For the careful examination of the relation of Daniel to Aḥiḳar, if not his actual dependence upon him, see the *Story of Aḥiḳar* (Camb. 1898) by Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis, pp. lvii–lx). Important fragments of Aḥiḳar have just been published by Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1911, Tafeln 40–50.

[2] e.g. The Wisdom of Solomon, the Enoch Literature (Book of Enoch, Secrets of Enoch), the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Apocalypses of Ezra and of Baruch, &c. Cf. the relation between the very late prophecy of Jonah, and the unknown prophet of the time of Jeroboam II (2 Kings xiv. 25). 'To condemn re-shaping or adaptation of this nature from a modern Western standpoint is to misunderstand entirely the Oriental mind and Oriental usage' (S. A. Cooke, *Encycl. Britann.*, Art. *Jews*, xv, p. 381).

9. *An apocalyptic work.*

Although Daniel is generally regarded as one of the Prophets, there is much which differentiates the book from that class of literature. The people are nowhere addressed, and the common prophetic expression 'Thus saith the Lord' is not once used. It has far greater affinities with that class of literature which is known as apocalyptic, the general object of which was 'to solve the difficulties connected with a belief in God's righteousness and the suffering condition of His servants on earth'.[1] The word 'apocalypse' in this connexion is taken from the title of 'the Apocalypse of St. John the Divine' and those of Baruch, of Peter, &c., written about the same or a later time, and the word 'apocalyptic' is more generally applied to all works such as the Book of Enoch, the Ascension of Isaiah, &c., which represent similar characteristics. The Greek word ἀποκάλυψις means the unveiling of what is hidden. As applied in the books referred to, it clearly means the unveiling through a Divine messenger of a future hidden in the counsels of God. Incidentally it is suggested that what is unveiled belongs to a new order of things, such as the heavenly Jerusalem and the new heavens and the new earth (whether these be regarded as shortly coming to pass, or as belonging to the distant future), and are usually produced by supra-mundane forces. In addition to this, much apocalyptic literature is devoted to the sketching in outline of the history of the world and its inhabitants, and of the origin of evil and its course.

The older prophecies had concerned themselves essentially with the present, and with the future only as developing from the present. And it was this very dealing with the immediate future which subsequently gave rise to perplexity. It was felt that that expectation of national and social well-being which had been fostered by the prophets had not been actually fulfilled. The Jews naturally found it difficult to reconcile their continued experience of oppression and wrong with the magnificent ideals and Divine promises which formed the subject of so much in the prophetic writings. These older Prophets were much like many of our modern preachers, who are earnest moral and religious reformers. They looked for the speedy establishment of God's Kingdom in earth. Prediction, although often present, was a quite secondary characteristic of prophecy. But with the apocalyptic writers the predictive element

[1] *Encycl. Biblica*, i. col. 213. 'It was not unnatural that the cessation of the voices of the old prophets should have been followed by what may be described as echoes waked up from time to time, and chiefly at critical periods of the national history, in the breasts of sympathizing and enthusiastic disciples' (Weir, *Encycl. Britann.*, 9th edition, vol. vi. p. 806).

is supreme. They look forward to a final consummation of all things. They are apt to despair of the present[1] and to direct their hopes to a future which will be essentially different from the present. Their writings have been well called 'tracts for hard times'. For as the darkness is supposed to be deepest before the dawn, so the overwhelming clouds of trouble and desperation served as the background upon which to throw a bright and powerful ray of hope that a glorious and happy day would eventually come. They gave therefore a new interpretation to the older traditions of their race, and sought to explain the supposed absence of any special inspiration in the present (see Ps. lxxiv. 9) by ascribing their own visionary experiences and new interpretations to some recognised saint or leader of old.

Moreover, the older Prophets had concerned themselves almost entirely with the restoration and rich development of the nation as such. But as time went on the claims of the individual components of the nation came to be more and more recognised. If God were righteous, not the righteous nation only but also the righteous individual would be vindicated. Hence the apocalyptic writers widened their scope to include the 'resurrection' of the individual who, although righteous, was yet called upon to suffer and perish. He must find place either in a temporary or eternal Messianic Kingdom on earth, or in a life beyond. Their conceptions as to this naturally varied very considerably. But the solution of the problem which they sought has passed more or less on to ourselves, and thus constitutes to a great extent the link between the older prophetic thought and ideals and those connected with Christianity.[2]

From the fact that the Apocalypse of St. John the Divine is conceived in the form of symbolic imagery, this has come to be associated more or less with the word 'apocalyptic', though not necessarily involved in it. Thus, in the sense that there are analogies between some of the symbolic visions of Ezekiel and those of the Apocalypse, or rather that the former, with other earlier prophecies, were used by the writer of the latter, these visions of Ezekiel may be called apocalyptic.[3] It is obvious,

[1] Dr. G. A. Smith describes their predictions, with much plausibility, as 'visions of another world that are too evidently the refuges of her despair in this' (*Hist. Geog. of Holy Land*, p. 35).

[2] See Charles's *Eschatology* (1899), and his articles on Apocalypse in Hastings's *D.B.*, *Encycl. Biblica*, and *Encycl. Britann.* (11th edition). As Dr. Charles truly says, 'No attempt to study Christianity in its origins can dispense with a knowledge of apocalyptic literature. If we wish to reconstruct the world of ideas and aspirations which filled the heart of an earnest Jew at the beginning of the Christian era, it is to this literature that we must have recourse for our materials.'

[3] In Zephaniah, with his mingled colours of this world's war, and vague terrors from another sphere, we have perhaps the earliest apocalyptic touch.

however, that there is a much closer parallel between Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John.[1] The hidden things revealed are entirely misunderstood by the seer until explained by the angel. The earliest example of the apocalyptic method consistently carried out is in the visions of Zechariah, but with this difference, that the explanations afforded are in the latter far more mysterious. What is really peculiar to Daniel are the minute details given of what are in fact historical events, but put in the form of predictions because the standpoint of the author has been thrown back into the distant past.

But the author of Daniel differs from the earlier prophetic writers as a whole, not only in this apocalyptic treatment of his subject, but still more in his spirit and tone. The object of the earlier prophets was to warn the sinner, his was to cheer the saint. Their outlook was, on the whole, pessimistic, the foretelling of Divine judgements; his optimistic, the promise of deliverance and the glory of the Messianic Kingdom. In these respects he is the forerunner of the writers of such books as the Apocalypse of Baruch and the Book of Enoch.[2] The authors of such works, often no doubt on grounds of prudence,[3] put forth their message to their contemporaries in the mouths of great historical personalities, such as Enoch, Noah, Moses, Baruch, Ezra, and in the case of this book, of Daniel.

10. *The bilingual character of the Book.*

While the main part of the book is written in late Hebrew, ch. ii. 4—vii. 28 is written in Aramaic, the language of several early tribes to the north and north-east of Palestine, collectively

But the most notable apocalypses in the Old Testament are to be found in Isa. xxiv–xxvii, Joel, Zechariah, and Daniel.

[1] Mede went so far as to say that Daniel is the *Apocalypsis contracta* and the Apocalypse is *Daniel explicata* (*Works*, Book iv, Ep. 32).

[2] 'While it formed the model on which later books of the same kind were framed, it stands far above them all in simplicity, clearness, dignity, and freedom from tedious digressions and extravagant conceptions. It teaches in an incomparably superior way the truths which they only feebly echo and obscurely reflect. Beneath its artificial literary form we can read the great lessons that God presides over the history of the world; that the Gentile nations as well as the Jews have always been under His control; that the succession of human empires is ordained by Him; that He permits the pride and fury of oppressors for a time, but humbles them in the end, and saves His own; that His kingdom will come at length and will endure for ever; that faithfulness and constancy to Him lead to a life beyond death, and to an eternal reward of glory' (Dummelow's *One-volume Commentary*. Introd. to Daniel, pp. 531, 532).

[3] All apocalypses are more or less cryptographic, and seek to conceal from some what they mean to reveal to others. In early Christian days especially any but veiled attacks upon Rome would have only fanned the flame of persecution (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3–12; 1 Pet. v. 13; and Rev. *passim*).

called Aram (A.V. Syria). It spread gradually among the people of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, and by degrees (cf. Isa. xxxvi. 11) supplanted Hebrew as the language of current intercourse among the Jews. This may be said to have been accomplished by the end of the third century B.C. Aramaic therefore was spoken in the time of our Lord, several Aramaic words appearing in the Gospels. The author of Daniel, to whom Hebrew (which was now regarded as the sacred language) and Aramaic were what Welsh and English are to many bilingual Welsh people, probably intended to write his book entirely in Hebrew, but when he had written to ii. 4 he thought it well to give the conversation between the Chaldeans and Nebuchadrezzar in the Aramaic, which he imagined would have been spoken at the Babylonian court. He gives, however, the Western Aramaic which, spoken in Palestine, was not identical with that of the east, sometimes known as Chaldee. As a bilinguist, to whom both languages seemed equally familiar, he allows himself to continue his work in Aramaic, but finally with an effort he returns back to the sacred language in ch. viii. We have a similar phenomenon in Ezra iv. 8—vi. 18, where the Aramaic begins with the quotation of an Aramaic document, but is continued in the narrative. It is also possible that originally the whole of Daniel was written in Western Aramaic, that the writer intended to translate it into Hebrew, but did not succeed in completing it. He naturally broke off at the point where the Aramaic was intentionally used (ii. 4–11), and for some unexplained reason left ii. 12—vii. 28 untranslated. But no explanation of the bilingual difficulty is perfectly satisfactory.

11. *Daniel's personality.*

Concerning Daniel's personality we know little from sources outside this book. Ezekiel mentions a Daniel, and the two qualities of righteousness (xiv. 14, 20) and wisdom (xxviii. 3) which Ezekiel associates with his name, certainly accord with what we are told of him throughout the Book of Daniel. But there are obvious difficulties here. When Ezekiel wrote his prophecies the Daniel of this book must have been still a youth (i. 4, 17), and it is hard to understand that one so young, whose reputation for wisdom and righteousness was yet to make, should be associated by Ezekiel with such two well-known and highly-honoured patriarchs of antiquity as Noah and (apparently) Job. The Daniel of Ezekiel is already a hero, and his name, like those of Noah and Job, would appear to have become proverbial.[1] It seems probable that certain traditions grew up in post-exilic times in connexion with

[1] See note on Ezek. xiv. 14.

the name of Daniel, an old hero in high repute for wisdom, of whom no certain knowledge has survived, and that these traditions were amplified in the book, and made to serve the general purpose of the writer.

Many legends subsequently attached themselves to the personality of Daniel, three of which—'The Song of the Three Holy Children' (see note on iii. 23), 'The History of Susannah', and 'The History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon', are contained in the Apocrypha of our English Bible. It is the story of Susannah and the Elders which gives the point to the lines in *The Merchant of Venice* (Act IV. sc. i.) concerning 'a Daniel come to judgement', &c. Rabbinical and Mohammedan traditions say that Daniel returned to Judah, where he was made Governor of Syria, helped to found the mythical Great Synagogue, and was eventually buried at Susa (see note on viii. 2), where for long his bones were suspended in a glass coffin over the river, in order that he might bring equal prosperity to the inhabitants of both its banks. What purports to be his tomb is still shewn at Susa, and attracts crowds of pilgrims.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

Part I. i—vi.

SIX NARRATIVES CONCERNING DANIEL AND HIS COMPANIONS.

INTRODUCTORY. i. 1–2.

1 In the third [a] year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar [b] king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it. 2 And the Lord gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God [c]; and he carried them into the land of Shinar [d] to the house of his god [e]: and he brought the vessels into the treasure house of his god.

1. THE REFUSAL OF DANIEL AND HIS COMPANIONS TO EAT THE KING'S MEAT [f]. i. 3–21.

The training for the Babylonian Court. i. 3–7.

3 And the king spake unto Ashpenaz the master of his eunuchs [g], that he should bring in *certain* of the

N.B. An obelus (+) *attached to a marginal note shews that the alternative rendering or reading is preferred, or calls attention to some other important point.*

[a] It is difficult to account for any siege of Jerusalem in this year (605 B. C.), for the battle of Carchemish, which made any such siege at all probable, was not till the following year (Jer. xlvi. 2), when Nebuchadrezzar returned to Babylon to secure his succession to the throne. Moreover, Jer. xxv. 1–9 seems to preclude any such siege, as does also the fact that Jehoiakim did not begin to pay tribute until 601 or 600 B. C. It is probable that the writer, following the statement in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 (for which there is no authority in Kings or Jeremiah, cf. Jer. xxxvi. 1, 6–10, 29; lii. 28–30), confused this with the *third year* of Jehoiakim's submission to Nebuchadrezzar when he revolted (2 Kings xxiv. 1).

[b] This later and corrupted form of Nebuchadrezzar is found in Jer. xxvii—xxix (except ver. 21); in 2 Kings xxiv—xxv; and in Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, as well as throughout this book. The more correct form (with r) is found generally in Jeremiah and in Ezek. xxvi. 7; xxix. 18, 19; xxx. 10.

[c] This phrase occurs pretty frequently in the later books (Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah). Earlier writers nearly always called it 'house of Jehovah'.

[d] i. e. Babylonia. See Gen. x. 10; Isa. xi. 11; Zech. v. 11.

[e] If the writer intended any particular deity it would probably be Marduk (Jer. l. 2; Baruch vi. 4, 5). Nebuchadrezzar's inscriptions 'exhibit him as acknowledging all the numerous divinities of the Babylonian pantheon; but they also shew him to have been in a very special way the votary of one god, Merodach. This special devotion to one particular deity is peculiar, so far as we know, to Nebuchadrezzar among Babylonian monarchs. Cf. iv. 8.' (Rawlinson, *Bible Educator*, i. 351.)

[f] This story proclaims the blessing which belongs to loyalty to principle and illustrates the truth, 'Them that honour Me I will honour' (1 Sam. ii. 30).

[g] Often to this day a confidential servant of an Oriental monarch. The expression 'master of the eunuchs' is practically the same as Rabsaris in 2 Kings xviii. 17.

children of Israel [a], even of the seed royal [b] and of
4 the nobles; youths in whom was no blemish, but
well favoured, and skilful in all wisdom, and cunning
in knowledge, and understanding science [c], and such
as had ability to stand in the king's palace; and that
he should teach them the learning and the tongue of
5 the Chaldeans [d]. And the king appointed for them
a daily portion of the king's [1] meat, and of the wine [1] Or, *dainties*
which he drank, and that they should be nourished
three years; that at the end thereof they might stand
6 before the king [e]. Now among these were, of the
children of Judah, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and
7 Azariah. And the prince of the eunuchs gave names [f]
unto them: unto Daniel he gave *the name of* Belte-
shazzar [g]; and to Hananiah, *of* Shadrach; and to
Mishael, *of* Meshach; and to Azariah, *of* Abed-nego [h].

Their steadfast resolve [i], i. 8–10.

8 But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not

[a] The original Janissaries (1330 A. D.) at the Ottoman Court were similarly young Christian captives trained to arms.

[b] Members not necessarily of the royal family but 'of the royal race' (LXX), i.e. the Jews (cf. Jer. xli. 1; 2 Kings xxv. 25; Ezek. xvii. 13). But if the word 'even' be taken in its usual meaning of 'and', it would seem to imply that some of the 'youths' belonged to the Babylonian royal family and aristocracy.

[c] This comprised astronomy, astrology, divination, augury, incantations, the interpretation of dreams and prodigies, &c.

[d] This term is used in this book not of a nation but of the Babylonian priesthood learned in the 'science' just referred to (see ch. ii *passim*, and Introd., p. 121). One treatise on magic in the British Museum alone consists of 200 tablets. The name was often given to astrologers or magicians, very much as 'Egyptians' was given to gipsies. Juvenal, e. g., represents Tiberius as living at Capri with a number of 'Chaldeans' (*Sat.* x. 96, *cum grege Chaldaeo*).

[e] As his personal attendants (cf. Deut. i. 38; 1 Kings x. 8; xii. 8).

[f] A badge of servitude, probably as Pusey suggests, to obliterate the memory of their early home and of their God to whom each name bears witness. Their new names probably embodied those of Babylonian deities. Cf. Gen. xli. 45. But it may have been merely to nationalise them as Babylonian subjects.

[g] Belteshazzar (which in LXX and Theodotion is written Baltasar, the latter being also the form they give for Belshazzar in ch. v) here appears to be regarded (see iv. 8) as a compound of the divine name Bel (Isa. xlvi. 1), although Belshazzar (Bel-sar-usur, i. e. Bel preserve the King) and Belteshazzar (Belatsu-usur, i. e. may his life be preserved) are philologically distinct. See *Encycl. Biblica*, i. col. 1010.

[h] Most probably a corruption of Abed-nebo, servant of Nebo. Cf. Isa. xlvi. 1. The meaning of Shadrach and of Meshach is uncertain, the names not appearing on the monuments. Perhaps Shudur-Aku, 'command of Aku', and Misha-Aku 'who is what Aku is'—Aku, the Moon deity.

[i] Cf. Tobit i. 10–12, with which some scholars believe that this passage has literary affinities. If Tobit as a whole is pre-Maccabean, as is generally acknowledged, Daniel may have been influenced by it. See Introd., p. 121, and note on viii. 16.

defile himself with the king's meat [a], nor with the wine [b] which he drank: therefore he requested of the prince of the eunuchs that he might not defile himself. Now God made Daniel to find favour and compassion 9 in the sight of the prince of the eunuchs. And the 10 prince of the eunuchs said unto Daniel, I fear my lord the king, who hath appointed your meat and your drink: for why should he see your faces worse liking than the youths which are of your own age? so should ye endanger my head with the king.

Their proposal and its success. i. 11–16.

[1] Heb. *Hammelzar.*

Then said Daniel to [1] the steward [c], whom the prince 11 of the eunuchs had appointed over Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah: Prove thy servants, I beseech 12 thee, ten days; and let them give us [2] pulse [d] to eat, and water to drink. Then let our countenances be 13 looked upon before thee, and the countenance of the youths that eat of the king's meat; and as thou seest, deal with thy servants. So he hearkened unto them 14 in this matter, and proved them ten days. And at 15 the end of ten days their countenances appeared fairer, and they were fatter in flesh, than all the youths which did eat of the king's meat. So [1] the 16 steward took away their meat, and the wine that they should drink, and gave them pulse.

† [2] Or, *herbs*

Their marvellous attainments. i. 17–21.

Now as for these four youths, God gave them know- 17 ledge and skill in all learning and wisdom: and Daniel had understanding in all visions and dreams [e]. And at the end of the days which the king had 18 [3] appointed for bringing them in, the prince of the eunuchs brought them in before Nebuchadnezzar. And the king communed with them; and among 19

[3] Heb. *said.*

[a] Which may have been either offered in sacrifice to the gods (cf. 1 Cor. viii. 4–13; 1 Macc. i. 47, 48, 62, 63) or otherwise ceremonially unclean (cf. Lev. vii. 26).

'Amid innumerable false, unmoved,
Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
Their loyalty they kept, their faith, their love.' (Milton.)

[b] Herodotus mentions that 'wine made of dates was brought down the Euphrates in very curious circular boats of skin' (i. 194).

[c] Perhaps 'overseer' is a better translation. An inscription on the Bellino cylinder mentions the son of one 'who was governor over the young men educated in my (the King of Assyria's) palace' (Hastings's *D.B.* iii. 338).

[d] Not necessarily leguminous, but any vegetable diet. The same word is practically that translated 'things that are sown' in Isa. lxi. 11.

[e] A statement intended as introductory to the incident of the following chapter.

them all was found none like Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah: therefore stood they before
20 the king. And in every matter of wisdom and understanding, concerning which the king inquired of them, he found them ten times better than all the magicians [a]
21 and enchanters that were in all his realm. And Daniel continued even unto the first year [b] of king Cyrus.

2. NEBUCHADREZZAR'S DREAM OF THE IMAGE [c]. ii.

(1) *THE WISDOM OF DANIEL IS VINDICATED IN CONTRAST TO THE WISE MEN OF BABYLON.* ii. 1–30.

The failure of the Chaldean interpreters. ii. 1–13.

2 And in the second [d] year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar Nebuchadnezzar dreamed dreams [e]; and his spirit was troubled, and his sleep brake from him.
2 Then the king commanded to call the magicians, and the enchanters, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans [f], for to tell the king his dreams. So they came in and
3 stood before the king. And the king said unto them, I have dreamed a dream, and my spirit is troubled to
4 know the dream [g]. Then spake the Chaldeans to the king [1] in the Syrian language [h], [2] O king, live for ever: tell thy servants the dream, and we will shew the

[1] Or, *in Aramaic* †
[2] Ch. ii. 4 — vii. 28 is in Aramaic. †

[a] The word is that used of the Egyptian magicians (Gen. xli. 24, &c.), and probably means 'sacred scribes', especially writers of hieroglyphics. 'Enchanters' were diviners of some kind, who used incantations.

[b] The year of the Jewish deliverance (538 B. C.), therefore about 66 years after Daniel's captivity.

[c] This chapter, modelled probably on the story of Joseph in Gen. xli (see p. 125, note 7), shews that there is 'a destiny that shapes our ends' and bids man to look forward to that 'far-off Divine event towards which the whole creation moves', and illustrates the truth that God is the Ruler over the nations. See p. 125.

[d] Ewald and others suppose that 'ten' has fallen out of the text and would read 'twelfth', but there is no necessary contradiction here with the three years of i. 5, 18, nor if there had been would the writer have probably troubled himself about such minutiae of detail.

[e] In the inscriptions of Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, there are several instances of deities appearing in dreams to encourage, warn, or advise.

[f] See notes on i. 4, 20. Sorcerers are only mentioned in Daniel here. See Exod. vii. 11; Deut. xviii. 10; and cf. Mal. iii. 5.

[g] The king may be supposed to have remembered part of the dream, but wished to recall it as a whole. Ewald suggests that there may be a satirical reflection on the mad and tyrannical vagaries of Antiochus Epiphanes.

[h] Probably these words 'in the Syrian language' were originally a marginal note. The Aramaic continues to vii. 28, where the Hebrew begins again. Many attempts have been made to explain this. See Introd., p. 130.

interpretation. The king answered and said to the 5
†[1] Or, *The word is gone forth from me* Chaldeans, [1] The thing is gone from me [a]: if ye make
not known unto me the dream and the interpretation
thereof, ye shall be cut in pieces [b], and your houses
shall be made a dunghill [c]. But if ye shew the dream 6
and the interpretation thereof, ye shall receive of me
gifts and rewards and great honour: therefore shew
me the dream and the interpretation thereof. They 7
answered the second time and said, Let the king tell
his servants the dream, and we will shew the interpre-
tation. The king answered and said, I know of a 8
[2] Aram. *buy the time.* certainty that ye would [2] gain time, because ye see [3] the
†[3] Or, *the word is gone forth from me: that if &c.* thing is gone from me [a]. But if ye make not known 9
unto me the dream, there is but one law for you [d]:
for ye have prepared lying and corrupt words to speak
before me, till the time be changed [e]: therefore tell
me the dream, and I shall know that ye can shew me
the interpretation thereof. The Chaldeans answered 10
before the king, and said, There is not a man upon
the earth that can shew the king's matter: forasmuch
†[4] Or, be he never so *great and powerful, hath &c.* as no king, [4] lord, nor ruler, hath asked such a thing
of any magician, or enchanter, or Chaldean. And it 11
is a rare thing that the king requireth, and there is
none other that can shew it before the king, except
the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh [f]. For this 12
cause the king was angry and very furious, and com-
manded to destroy all the wise men of Babylon. So 13
the decree went forth, and the wise men were to be
slain; and they sought Daniel and his companions to
be slain.

Daniel is inspired to recall the dream. ii. 14–19a.

Then Daniel returned answer with counsel and 14

[a] The translation of R. V. text is misleading. The king is referring to the threat which he is about to utter, and not to his dream.

[b] Better, dismembered (2 Macc. i. 16). For the barbarities of Oriental despots see vol. ii. p. 13. Flaying alive and dismemberment are frequently figured on the inscriptions.

[c] Cf. Ezra vi. 11. Babylonian houses were built of sun-dried bricks, and when destroyed became a confused heap of rubbish, which in rainy weather soon looked like a dunghill and in many cases would become such. See 2 Kings x. 27.

[d] The two things—the dream and its interpretation—are subject to the one decree.

[e] If by any luck more favourable circumstances should arise, or the king's attention be diverted to something else.

[f] i. e. who are entirely extra-mundane, and not those gods Bel, Nebo, &c., who (as Babylonian religion taught) attached themselves to men as their individual protectors. See Lenormant's *La Magie*, pp. 32, 181.

prudence to Arioch [a] the captain of the king's guard [b],
which was gone forth to slay the wise men of Babylon;
15 he answered and said to Arioch the king's captain,
Wherefore is the decree so urgent [c] from the king?
16 Then Arioch made the thing known to Daniel. And
Daniel went in, and desired of the king that he would
[1] appoint him a time, [2] and he would shew the king
the interpretation.
17 Then Daniel went to his house, and made the thing
known to Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, his com-
18 panions: that they would desire mercies of the God
of heaven [d] concerning this secret; that Daniel and
his companions should not perish with the rest of the
19 wise men of Babylon. Then was the secret revealed
unto Daniel in a vision of the night.

[1] Or, *give him time*
[2] Or, *that he might*

His hymn of thankfulness to God. ii. 19b–23.

20 Then Daniel blessed the God of heaven. Daniel
answered and said,
Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever:
For wisdom and might are his:
21 And he changeth the times and the seasons [e]:
He removeth kings, and setteth up kings:
He giveth wisdom unto the wise,
And knowledge to them that know understanding:
22 He revealeth the deep and secret things:
He knoweth what is in the darkness,
And the light dwelleth with him.

23 I thank thee, and praise thee, O thou God of my
fathers,
Who hast given me wisdom and might,
And hast now made known unto me what we
desired of thee:
For thou hast made known unto us the king's
matter.

[a] Cf. Gen. xiv. 1, from whence it is evidently borrowed. 'The name was Sumerian, and not used at this period of Babylonian history' (Sayce, Hastings's *D.B.* i. 148).

[b] Lit. 'chief of the slaughterers', i.e. executioners (cf. 2 Kings xxv. 8), but used of a military officer of state.

[c] Better, 'harsh'.

[d] An expression often used in post-exilic writings. Ezra i. 2; v. 11; Jonah i. 9, &c.

[e] 'The order of things established at a given time is not necessarily permanent; it frequently happens that kings are overthrown and a new régime established' (Driver).

He claims the power of interpreting the dream to Nebuchadrezzar. ii. 24–30.

Therefore Daniel went in unto Arioch, whom the king 24
had appointed to destroy the wise men of Babylon:
he went and said thus unto him; Destroy not the
wise men of Babylon: bring me in before the king,
and I will shew unto the king the interpretation.

Then Arioch brought in Daniel before the king in 25
haste, and said thus unto him, I have found a man of
the children of the captivity[a] of Judah, that will make
known unto the king the interpretation. The king 26
answered and said to Daniel, whose name was Belte-
shazzar, Art thou able to make known unto me the
dream which I have seen, and the interpretation
thereof? Daniel answered before the king, and said, 27
The secret which the king hath demanded can neither
wise men, enchanters, magicians, nor soothsayers,
shew unto the king; but there is a God in heaven 28
that revealeth secrets, and he hath made known to
the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter
days[b]. Thy dream, and the visions of thy head[c]
upon thy bed, are these: as for thee, O king, thy 29
thoughts[d] came *into thy mind* upon thy bed, what
should come to pass hereafter: and he that revealeth
secrets hath made known to thee what shall come to
pass. But as for me, this secret is not revealed to 30
me for any wisdom that I have more than any living,
but to the intent that the interpretation may be made
known to the king, and that thou mayest know the
thoughts of thy heart.

(2) *DANIEL TELLS THE DREAM*[e]. ii. 31–35.

The colossal and composite image. ii. 31–33.

Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image. 31

[a] Better 'exile'. The Hebrew word here used expresses properly *migration* from home rather than being taken captive in war.

[b] 'An expression which occurs fourteen times in O. T., and which always denotes the *closing period* of the future so far as it falls within the range of view of the writer using it' (Driver).

[c] 'Delitzsch rightly remarks that this and vii. 1, 15 (cf. also iv. 5) are the earliest passages in which the head is spoken of as the seat of visions, the centre to which spiritual and psychical events are to be referred. In all other places the heart is spoken of as the seat of understanding, as the reins and bowels are of the emotions' (Heard, *Bible Educator*, ii. 130).

[d] i. e. dreams, as in verse 30. The two halves of verse 29 are parallel, meaning that God's secret, revealed in Nebuchadrezzar's dream, concerned the future.

[e] This dream is closely related to that made to Daniel himself in ch. vii. 'Grotius has acutely observed that the image which typified the powers of the

This image, which was mighty, and whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee; and the aspect
32 thereof was terrible [a]. As for this image, his head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his
33 belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron, and part of clay [b].

The stone that destroyed the image and became a great mountain. ii. 34–35.

34 Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands [c], which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them in pieces [d].
35 Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken in pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors [e]; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great [1] mountain, and filled the whole earth.

[1] Or, *rock*

(3) *DANIEL INTERPRETS THE DREAM.* ii. 36–45.

Four successive world-empires and their subsequent division. ii. 36–43.

36 This is the dream; and we [f] will tell the interpretation
37 thereof before the king. Thou, O king, art king of

world was very bright in the eyes of Nebuchadrezzar, who would look upon them with a worldly eye; while to Daniel they were shewn in the similitude of wild beasts, as emblems of tyranny and oppression which largely characterized the ancient world-powers' (*Speaker's Commentary*). See note on ch. vii, p. 160.

[a] From the many images which have been excavated in Mesopotamia we know that the Chaldeans affected the gigantic and the grotesque. See note on Ezek. i. 5.

[b] The four ages of the world were often represented of old as golden, silver, brass, and iron. Here the representation of the magnificent but hollow splendour of earthly empire in the form of a 'huge, gleaming, terrible colossus, of many colours and different metals, brilliant at its summit, but gradually deteriorating, both in material and appearance, towards its base, and when struck by the falling rock, instantly collapsing into atoms, is fine and striking' (Driver).

[c] i. e. without human agency, by the unseen power of God. Cf. viii. 25; Job xxxiv. 20; Lam. iv. 6. 'The intense nothingness and transitoriness of man's might in its highest estate, and the might of God's Kingdom, are the chief subjects of this vision' (Pusey, p. 63).

[d] The picture is evidently that of a huge statue erected at the base of a mountain (ver. 45, where see note), down which a rock rolls with great force against its feet.

[e] These were, and still are, generally on elevated spots, so that the wind might the more easily disperse the chaff. See note on Isa. xli. 15.

[f] i. e. Daniel and his three friends, to whose joint intercession (vers. 17, 18) the revelation was due.

kings [a], unto whom the God of heaven hath given the kingdom, the power, and the strength, and the glory; and wheresoever the children of men dwell [b], the 38
beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath he given into thine hand, and hath made thee to rule over them all: thou art the head of gold. And after 39
thee [c] shall arise another kingdom [d] inferior to thee; and another third kingdom [e] of brass, which shall bear rule over all the earth. And the fourth king- 40
dom [f] shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as iron that crusheth all these, shall it break in pieces and crush. And whereas thou sawest the feet and 41
toes, part of potters' clay, and part of iron, it shall be a divided kingdom [g]; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with [1] miry clay. And as the toes of the 42
feet were part of iron, and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly [2] broken. And 43
whereas thou sawest the iron mixed with [1] miry clay, they shall mingle themselves [3] with the seed of men [h]; but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron doth not mingle with clay.

†[1] Or, *earthenware*

†[2] Or, *brittle*

[3] Or, *by*

[a] Cf. Ezek. xxvi. 7. But the form of address is Persian (Ezra vii. 12) rather than Babylonian.

[b] Cf. Jer. xxvii. 6; xxviii. 14. The extensiveness and absoluteness of Nebuchadrezzar's dominion are thus set forth.

[c] Nebuchadrezzar is here spoken of as representing and concentrating in himself the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

[d] The Median Empire is probably meant, for although history knows of no such empire after the Babylonian, the writer evidently thought that there was, and that distinct from the Persian. Cf. v. 28, 30 f.; vi. 1, 28; vii. 1; xi. 1.

[e] The Persian is probably meant. Cf. vi. 28; x. 1. See vii. 6; xi. 2.

[f] The Graeco-Macedonian Kingdom founded by Alexander the Great. Being so closely related to the time of the writer, its description is much fuller than those of the preceding empires. Cf. vii. 7, 8, 19, 20.

[g] Immediately after Alexander's death (332 B.C.) the Macedonian Empire split up into four. Seleucus and Ptolemy Lagi finally established two great dynasties, the former at Antioch in Syria, the latter in Egypt. The stronger was that of the Seleucidae, here represented by the iron; the weaker that of the Ptolemies, represented by the earthenware.

[h] Children of the reigning kings are probably meant. For the form of expression see Jer. xxxi. 27. According to Keil, the figure is derived from the sowing of a field with mixed seed. The allusion is to the futile attempts of the rival Ptolemies and Seleucidae (xi. 6, 17) to form stable and harmonious alliances by marriage.

The establishment in their place of the Kingdom of God eternal and invincible. ii. 44–45.

44 And in the days of those kings [a] shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty thereof be left to another people [b]; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for
45 ever. Forasmuch as thou sawest that a stone [c] was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter: and the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure [d].

(4) *DANIEL'S HONOUR AND ELEVATION.* ii. 46–49.

46 Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped [e] Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours unto him [f].
47 The king answered unto Daniel, and said, Of a truth your God is the God of gods, and the Lord of kings, and a revealer of secrets, seeing thou hast been able
48 to reveal this secret. Then the king made Daniel great, and gave him many great gifts, and made him to rule over the whole province of Babylon, and to be chief governor over all the wise men [g] of Babylon [h].

[a] The reference is more particularly to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175–164), to which, according to the writer (vii. 24–27; xi. 45—xii. 3), the Kingdom of God was immediately to succeed. See p. 123.

[b] This Kingdom will be Jewish and not Gentile. 'Both the national limitation and the foreshortening of view in this verse are characteristic of O.T. prophecy, and do not affect the value of the central truth which is taught' (*One-volume Bible Commentary*). See p. 123.

[c] Curiously enough, the meaning of the stone itself apart from its work of destruction is not explained, but if we compare this verse with verse 35 we should probably be right in explaining it of the spiritual mount Zion, a symbol of the world-ruling power. Cf. Isa. ii. 2; xxviii. 16.

[d] The utterances of the older prophets were generally regarded as more or less conditional, and their certainty is never so absolutely expressed as here.

[e] If this were literal history it would be difficult to account for the king's conduct in the following chapter. See p. 120.

[f] Cf. Isa. xlix. 23; lx. 14; and contrast Acts xiv. 13–15; Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 8, 9. Although 'worshipped' does not necessarily imply divine honour, the whole verse suggests that Daniel receives the adoration due to a god. But Nebuchadrezzar here speaks as though Daniel were rather the representative of the God of gods. See p. 120.

[g] On the improbability of this statement see Introd., p. 120.

[h] According to the Aramaic text of Tobit i. 21, Achiacharus (Aḥiḳar, see Introd., p. 126) was 'Rab over all that was his (the king's) and Shalit over all the land of Assyria'. After having nearly lost his life through base treachery,

And Daniel requested of the king, and he appointed 49
Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, over the affairs
of the province of Babylon: but Daniel was [1] in the
gate of the king [a].

[1] Or, *at the king's court*

3. THE STORY OF SHADRACH, MESHACH, AND ABED-NEGO [b]. iii.

The erection and dedication of Nebuchadrezzar's golden image. iii. 1–7.

Nebuchadnezzar the king [c] made an image of gold [d], 3
whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth
thereof six cubits [e]: he set it up in the plain of
Dura [f], in the province of Babylon. Then Nebuchad- 2
nezzar the king sent to gather together the satraps, the
deputies, and the governors, the [2] judges, the treasurers,
the counsellors, the [3] sheriffs, and all the rulers of the
provinces [g], to come to the dedication of the image

[2] Or, *chief soothsayers*
[3] Or, *lawyers*

he was restored to favour, and gave many proofs of his marvellous wisdom, especially in connexion with a mission to a foreign king.

[a] See Esther ii. 19–21; iii. 2; v. 9. The gate of a palace, as of a city (see note on Amos v. 12), served as the place for the administration of justice, royal audiences, &c. An existing trace of this use remains in the name given to the Turkish Court, Babi Ali—the Sublime Porte, from the gate (Bab) of the palace (which till recently had fifty gate-porters) where justice was administered.

[b] This narrative of religious heroism and of the triumph of faith—written at a period when apostasy or martyrdom was a very burning question (see 1 Macc. i. 62, 63; ii. 19–22)—may have been based on Jer. xxix. 22 or on some unknown tradition, and illustrates the promise 'When thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee' (Isa. xliii. 2. Cf. Ps. xxxiv. 7). From one of the Babylonian cylinders we learn that after Nebuchadrezzar's extension of his kingdom throughout Western Asia he built a magnificent temple to Bel-Marduk and dedicated an image of the god (*Records of the Past*, v. 113 et seq.). The narrative may have grown out of this fact. It has been thought that it was an attempt by the king to substitute Marduk (whom by way of compromise was called Bel-Marduk), which from the inscriptions was his favourite god, for Belus, the older and chief deity of Babylon (see Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 89). On the other hand, it is not unlikely that an image of himself may have been intended.

[c] LXX adds 'in the eighteenth year', i.e. 587 B.C., the year before the fall of Jerusalem.

[d] Not necessarily of solid gold, but overlaid with gold plates. Cf. Isa. xl. 19. Herodotus speaks of a statue of Zeus in Babylon on which 800 talents of gold were spent (i. 183).

[e] i.e. including probably the golden pedestal, about 88 feet.

[f] There were at least three places in Babylonia called Dura. The word probably means 'walled', and therefore suggests that a plain close to the walls of Babylon is meant. There are some mounds capable of supporting huge pedestals about 12 miles south-south-east of Babylon.

[g] It is difficult to attach specific value to these various offices, but they probably sum up the civil, legal, and military functions. The names are a mixture of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian.

3 which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up. Then
the satraps, the deputies, and the governors, the
[1] judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the [2] sheriffs, [1] Or, *chief soothsayers*
and all the rulers of the provinces, were gathered [2] Or, *lawyers*
together unto the dedication of the image that
Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up; and they stood
before the image that Nebuchadnezzar had set up.
4 Then the herald cried aloud, To you it is commanded,
5 O peoples, nations, and languages [a], that at what time
ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut,
psaltery, [3] dulcimer, and all kinds of music [b], ye fall [3] Or, *bagpipe*
down and worship the golden image that Nebuchad-
6 nezzar the king hath set up: and whoso falleth not
down and worshippeth shall the same hour be cast
7 into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. Therefore
at that time, when all the peoples heard the sound of
the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds
of music, all the peoples, the nations, and the languages,
fell down and worshipped the golden image that Nebu-
chadnezzar the king had set up.

The accusation against Daniel's companions. iii. 8–12.

8 Wherefore at that time certain Chaldeans came near,
9 and brought accusation against the Jews [c]. They

[a] All peoples subject to Babylon are meant, whatever their language or government. Cf. verse 29; iv. 1; vii. 14.

[b] It is evidently intended to enhance the pompous magnificence of the scene by the introduction of all manner of kinds of music which, however crude and barbarous they would sound to our modern ears, would have been awe-inspiring to the worshippers, and by their constant repetition have a striking literary effect. The *cornet* was the horn which, still used in the synagogue ritual, is the oldest form of wind instrument in use to-day; the *flute* was the favourite pastoral pan-pipes, consisting of from seven to nine short hollow reeds of varying lengths and thicknesses joined together. It was the earliest form of the compound wind-instrument, the precursor of the organ; the *harp* was the lyre, from which the mediaeval and modern guitar was derived; the *sackbut* was properly the trigon, an instrument of four strings with a triangular frame, probably of extensive compass, not unlike our harp, and known to the Greeks and Romans as an Oriental luxury at banquets; by the *psaltery* is meant a dulcimer, played by a hammer on its strings, the rudimentary form of a piano; and by the *dulcimer* the bagpipe (see margin), the Aramaic name of which is from *sumphonia*, a late Greek word, used, curiously enough, by Polybius in his account of the festivities in which Antiochus Epiphanes indulged (*Encycl. Biblica*, i. 458; Polybius, *Athen.* x. 52). The *harp* and the *psaltery* are also Greek words. (See Introd., p. 120.)

[c] Literally 'ate the pieces of the Jews', suggesting the bitter envy and malice of their foes. Calumny and slander are represented by the Arabs as hunting and seizing a man, cutting him to pieces and eating his flesh. In the Koran (xlix. 12) it is written, 'Which of you would eat the flesh of his dead brother?' i. e. slander him. Cf. Job xix. 22. For Chaldeans see note on i. 4.

answered and said to Nebuchadnezzar the king, O king, live for ever. Thou, O king, hast made a 10
decree, that every man that shall hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of music, shall fall down and worship the golden image: and whoso falleth not 11
down and worshippeth, shall be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace [a]. There are certain Jews 12
whom thou hast appointed over the affairs of the province of Babylon, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego; these men, O king, have not regarded thee: they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.

Their heroic refusal to worship the image. iii. 13–18.

Then Nebuchadnezzar in *his* rage and fury commanded 13
to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. Then they brought these men before the king. Nebuchad- 14
nezzar answered and said unto them, Is it of purpose, O Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, that ye serve not my god, nor worship the golden image which I have set up? Now if ye be ready that at what 15
time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the image which I have made, *well* [b]: but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace; and who is that god that shall deliver you out of my hands [c]? Shadrach, Meshach, and 16
Abed-nego, answered and said to the king, O Nebuchadnezzar, [1] we have no need to answer thee in this matter. [2] If it be *so*, our God whom we serve is able 17
to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace; and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king. But if 18
not [d], be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.

[1] Or, *we are not careful*
[2] Or, *Behold, our God, &c.* Or, *If our God whom we serve be able to deliver us, he will deliver us from... and out of thine hand, O king*

[a] Cf. Jer. xxix. 22, where offenders are similarly threatened with being burnt alive. The burning of criminals was an old Babylonian practice.

[b] An aposiopesis. Cf. Gen. xxx. 27; Exod. xxxii. 32; Luke xiii. 9.

[c] Cf. Isa. xxxvi. 18–20. Like Sennacherib, Nebuchadrezzar thus boastfully pits his own power against Jehovah's.

[d] Here there is no doubt of God's power, but of His purpose concerning them. Cf. Gen. xix. 22. These words are among the sublimest in Scripture; they set forth that victory of faith which overcomes the world. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 62, 63; 2 Macc. vi. 18 ff.

They are cast into the fiery furnace. iii. 19–23.

19 Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form
of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach,
and Abed-nego: *therefore* he spake, and commanded
that they should heat the furnace seven times more
20 than it was wont to be heated. And he commanded
certain mighty men that were in his army to bind
Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, *and* to cast them
21 into the burning fiery furnace. Then these men were
bound in their hosen, their [1] tunics, and their mantles, [1] Or, *turbans* †
and their *other* garments [a], and were cast into the
22 midst of the burning fiery furnace. Therefore because
the king's commandment was urgent, and the furnace
exceeding hot, the flame of the fire slew those men
that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego.
23 And these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-
nego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning
fiery furnace [b].

Their divine deliverance. iii. 24–27.

24 Then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonied, and
rose up [c] in haste: he spake and said unto his coun-
sellors, Did not we cast three men bound into the
midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the
25 king, True, O king. He answered and said, Lo, I see
four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and
they have no hurt; and the aspect of the fourth is like
26 a son of the gods [d]. Then Nebuchadnezzar came
near to the [2] mouth of the burning fiery furnace: he [2] Aram. *door.*
spake and said, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego,
ye servants of the Most High God, come forth, and
come hither. Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-
27 nego, came forth out of the midst of the fire. And
the satraps, the deputies, and the governors, and the
king's counsellors, being gathered together, saw these

[a] It is difficult to say exactly what clothing was really meant, but from the monuments we gather that they would be turbans, an inner tunic, an outer mantle, and some kind of leggings.

[b] Between verses 23 and 24 LXX, Theodotion's Greek version, Vulgate, and Syriac have the apocryphal book 'The Song of the Three Children', which includes the hymn found in our English Prayer Book called 'Benedicite omnia opera'. It is probable that this was an independent Jewish liturgical hymn afterwards ascribed to the three children.

[c] From the seat where he had been sitting and watching the whole proceedings.

[d] Probably it is better translated 'a son of God', as in Job i. 6; xxxviii. 7; Gen. vi. 2, the meaning being an angel (see ver. 28), Nebuchadrezzar being represented as speaking as a Jew of the writer's age would speak. Cf. Isa. xliii. 2; Gen. xxiv. 7; Exod. xxiii. 20. But, on the other hand, there is a possible reference to one of the gods whose dwelling is with flesh. See note on ii. 11.

men, that the fire had no power upon their bodies, nor was the hair of their head singed, neither were their hosen changed, nor had the smell of fire passed on them.

The king's recognition of and decree in favour of the God of the Jews. iii. 28–30.

28 Nebuchadnezzar spake and said, Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego[a], who hath sent his angel, and delivered his servants that trusted in him, and have changed the king's word, and have yielded their bodies, that they might not serve nor worship any god, except their own God. 29 Therefore I make a decree, that every people, nation, and language, which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill: because there is no other god[b] that is able to deliver after this sort. 30 Then the king promoted Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, in the province of Babylon[c].

4. NEBUCHADREZZAR'S MADNESS[d]. iv.

The royal proclamation. iv. 1–3.

[Ch. iii. 31 in Aram.] 4 Nebuchadnezzar the king, unto all the peoples, nations, and languages[e], that dwell in all the earth[f]; peace be multiplied unto you[g]. 2 It hath seemed good unto me to shew the signs and wonders that the Most High God hath wrought toward me. 3 How great are his signs! and how mighty are his wonders! his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and his dominion is from generation to generation.

[a] Cf. 1 Kings x. 9; 2 Chron. ii. 12. Josephus tells us that Antiochus the Great had published a decree in honour of the Jews, their temple, and customs (*Antiq.* xii. iii. 3, 4).

[b] According to the view of the writer, Nebuchadrezzar combined a special devotion to one god with a worship of many other powers equal or much inferior.

[c] According to Theodotion they were appointed 'to rule over all the Jews that were in his kingdom.' LXX has 'appointed them rulers over all the country.'

[d] This narrative 'contains scarcely anything specifically Babylonian' (Bevan). Some commentators have found a parallel in a story which the Greek historian Abydenus gives in his book *Assyriaca*, and which is quoted by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* ix. 41). But the story is so very different in point and character from this of Daniel that it seems almost inconceivable that the latter should have originated from it.

[e] See note on iii. 4.

[f] This means no more than Western Asia from Elam and Media on the east to the Levant and Egypt on the west.

[g] Cf. vi. 25. The Scriptural phraseology in this decree and in verse 34 (where see note. Cf. Deut. iv. 34; vi. 22; vii. 19; Ps. cxlv. 13; cvi. 2; Isa. viii. 18; Joel iii. 20; Mic. iv. 7) is quite unlike any state document found in the inscriptions. Contrast the proclamation of Artaxerxes in Ezra vii. 13–26.

The king's dream of the great tree. iv. 4–18.

4 I Nebuchadnezzar was at rest in mine house, and [Ch. iv. 1 in Aram.]
5 flourishing in my palace. I saw a dream which made
me afraid; and the [1] thoughts upon my bed and the [1] Or, *imaginations* †
6 visions of my head [a] troubled me. Therefore made
I a decree to bring in all the wise men of Babylon
before me, that they might make known unto me
7 the interpretation of the dream. Then came in the
magicians, the enchanters, the Chaldeans [b], and the
soothsayers: and I told the dream before them; but
they did not make known unto me the interpretation
8 thereof. But at the last Daniel came in before me,
whose name was Belteshazzar [c], according to the
name of my god, and in whom is the spirit of the
holy gods: and I told the dream before him, *saying*,
9 O Belteshazzar, master of the magicians, because
I know that the spirit of the holy gods is in thee, and
no secret troubleth thee, tell me the visions of my
dream that I have seen, and the interpretation
10 thereof. Thus were the visions of my head upon my
bed: I saw, and behold a tree [d] in the midst of the
11 earth, and the height thereof was great. The tree
grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached
unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all
12 the earth. The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit
thereof much, and in it was meat for all: the beasts
of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the
heaven dwelt in the branches thereof, and all flesh
13 was fed of it. I saw in the visions of my head upon
my bed, and, behold, a watcher and an holy one [e]
14 came down from heaven. He [f] cried aloud, and
said thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his
branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit:
let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls

[a] See note on ii. 28.

[b] See notes on i. 4 and 20.

[c] The writer incorrectly regards the name Belteshazzar as derived from Bel (see note on i. 7). We have similar examples of etymological error in the explanation of Cain (Gen. iv. 1) and probably that of Moses (Exod. ii. 10).

[d] Probably an oak (Aram. *ilan*). Such an emblem was familiar to a Semitic mind (Ps. i. 3; Jer. xvii. 8). Ezekiel (xxxi. 3–9) compares Assyria in her strength to a cedar, and his vision has many parallels to this one. Herodotus (i. 108) narrates a somewhat similar dream of Astyages with reference to Cyrus.

[e] Names of angels; see verse 17. The last word in a slightly different form occurs frequently in this sense in later Biblical literature, as in Job v. 1; xv. 15; Ps. lxxxix. 5, 7; Zech. xiv. 5. 'Watcher' is a common word in the Pseudepigraphical books, Enoch, Book of Jubilee.

[f] Rather, 'One cried'. Nebuchadrezzar hears Jehovah, or a messenger from Jehovah, giving directions to His angels to carry out His decree.

from his branches. Nevertheless leave the stump 15
of his roots in the earth[a], even with a band of iron
and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it
be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be
with the beasts in the grass of the earth: let his 16
heart[b] be changed from man's, and let a beast's
heart be given unto him; and let seven times[c] pass
over him. The sentence is by the decree of the 17
watchers[d], and the [1]demand by the word of the holy
ones: to the intent that the living may know that the
Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth
it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the
lowest of men. This dream I king Nebuchadnezzar 18
have seen: and thou, O Belteshazzar, declare the
interpretation, forasmuch as all the wise men of my
kingdom are not able to make known unto me the
interpretation; but thou art able, for the spirit of the
holy gods is in thee.

[1] Or, *matter*

Daniel's interpretation. iv. 19–26.

Then Daniel, whose name was Belteshazzar, was 19
astonied for a while, and his thoughts troubled him[e].

[a] Cf. Isa. xi. 1. The tree was to grow up again (see ver. 26). In this verse the metaphor of the vision is gradually laid aside and wholly disappears in the following verse. The bands of iron and brass are primarily intended, it would seem, to prevent the tree falling to pieces, but the writer had probably in his mind a metaphorical reference to the loss of mental freedom or physical restraint to which the king would have to submit during his madness. But the bands may merely mean trouble and affliction, as in Ps. cvii. 10; cxlix. 8.

[b] Intelligence; see notes on ii. 28 and vii. 4. This form of insanity (see ver. 36) is a not uncommon one both in ancient and modern times, and has been definitely recognised by the medical faculty. Its relation to lycanthropy, and the were-wolf, a belief that men are changed into wolves and other animals, is disputed, but on the whole it seems probable that the latter arose from it. The writer seems to suggest that Nebuchadrezzar's experience was a real one (see especially v. 21 and note there). We have a somewhat close parallel in the not infrequent belief among savage tribes that the soul leaves the body and visits different haunts in dreams. Virgil (*Eclog.* vi. 48) describes the daughters of Proetus, believing themselves to be cattle, as lowing in the fields. A few years ago the whole of a French village set out to capture a poor old lunatic who thought she was a pig and lived stark naked in the woods. They complained of her eating so much of their pig-food. Winckler suggests that the whole idea of Nebuchadrezzar's madness may have been simply the product of misunderstanding 'eating grass' (iv. 25) which, from the inscriptions, appears to have been a symbolic expression for 'living in misery' (see *Encycl. Biblica*, c. 2893).

[c] i.e. years. Cf. vii. 25; xii. 7; Rev. xii. 14.

[d] Angels are represented as joining with the Most High (see ver. 24) as a council with their King (cf. 1 Kings xxii. 19; Job i. 6) in determining the destinies of men.

[e] Sympathy for the king in the terrible affliction which was to befall him made him dread to tell the king the meaning of the dream.

The king answered and said, Belteshazzar, let not the dream, or the interpretation, trouble thee. Belteshazzar answered and said, My lord, the dream be to them that hate thee, and the interpretation thereof to thine
20 adversaries [a]. The tree that thou sawest, which grew, and was strong, whose height reached unto the
21 heaven, and the sight thereof to all the earth; whose leaves were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; under which the beasts of the field dwelt, and upon whose branches the fowls of the
22 heaven had their habitation: it is thou, O king, that art grown and become strong [b]: for thy greatness is grown, and reacheth unto heaven, and thy dominion
23 to the end of the earth. And whereas the king saw a watcher and an holy one coming down from heaven, and saying, Hew down the tree, and destroy it; nevertheless leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts
24 of the field, till seven times pass over him; this is the interpretation, O king, and it is the decree of the Most High, which is come upon my lord the king:
25 that thou shalt be driven from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field, and thou shalt be made to eat grass as oxen, and shalt be wet with the dew of heaven, and seven times shall pass over thee; till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he
26 will. And whereas they commanded to leave the stump of the tree roots; thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, after that thou shalt have known that the heavens [c] do rule.

Daniel exhorts Nebuchadrezzar to repent. iv. 27.

27 Wherefore, O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee, and [1] break off thy sins by righteousness [d], and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the

[1] Or, *redeem*

[a] I wish that this dream was for thine enemies.

[b] So had Nebuchadrezzar's empire grown enormously, and multitudes were more or less dependent upon it for support or protection.

[c] The word as used of God occurs here only in the Old Testament but is frequent in later Jewish writings, e. g. 1 Macc. iii. 18; iv. 10, 24, 55; 2 Macc. ix. 20. Cf. Luke xv. 18, 21. 'Kingdom of heaven' in its original Jewish sense means rule or government of heaven (so Dalmann, quoted by Driver).

[d] i. e. by right conduct. In later Hebrew it came to be practically equivalent to almsgiving. Cf. Tobit xii. 9.

poor [a]; if there may be [1] a lengthening of thy tranquillity.

[1] Or, as otherwise read, *an healing of thine error*

Nebuchadrezzar's insanity. iv. 28–33.

All this came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar. At 28
the end of twelve months he was walking [2] in [b] the 29
royal palace of Babylon. The king spake and said, 30
Is not this great Babylon [c], which I have built for the
royal dwelling place, by the might of my power and
for the glory of my majesty? While the word was in 31
the king's mouth [d], there fell a voice [e] from heaven,
saying, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken:
the kingdom is departed from thee. And thou shalt 32
be driven from men, and thy dwelling shall be with
the beasts of the field; thou shalt be made to eat
grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee;
until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the
kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he
will. The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon 33
Nebuchadnezzar [f]: and he was driven from men, and

† [2] Aram. *upon.*

[a] Cf. Prov. xvi. 6. 'Oppression and injustice were probably almost inseparable from heathen despotism' (Pusey, p. 559). Certainly Nebuchadrezzar's vast scheme of magnificent building could only be accomplished by the forced labour of what he calls in an inscription 'the disobedient and the poor'. Cf. Hab. ii. 12.

[b] i. e. on the roof of (see margin). Cf. 2 Sam. xi. 2.

[c] Cf. Rev. xvi. 19; Jer. li. 58. The celebrated 'India House' inscription, now in the India Office, describes with much elaborate detail the principal buildings and fortifications erected by Nebuchadrezzar. He himself tells us that he regarded Babylon as the apple of his eye, and the palace with its famous hanging gardens as its most glorious ornament. The tower 'contained the treasures of my imperishable royalty; and silver, gold, metals, gems, nameless and priceless, and immense treasures of rare value' he had lavished upon it. On the opposite side of the mighty Euphrates, which divided the square city into two triangles, rose the stately temple of Belus, with its roof of cedar brought from Lebanon; its walls so decorated with gold and precious stones that they 'glistened like suns'; and its ascending terraces of spacious courts (see vol. ii. p. 25). 'The sight of that golden city,' says Farrar (p. 196), 'in the zenith of its splendour, may well have dazzled the soul of its founder.'

[d] The suddenness of the nemesis of pride is seen also in the case of Herod Agrippa (Acts xii. 20–23). Cf. the disasters which befell Alexander the Great, Pope Boniface VIII, Philip II of Spain.

[e] 'Called by the later Jews a *Bath Kol*, lit. "the daughter of a voice", the term applied by them to a divine voice unaccompanied by any visible manifestation. . . . The voices from heaven in the New Testament (as Matt. iii. 17; xvii. 5; John xii. 28; Acts xi. 7, 9; Rev. x. 4) would all, in Jewish phraseology, be so described' (Driver).

[f] The writer may have intended, by analogy, to refer to Antiochus Epiphanes, whose name, on account of his madness, was changed by people to Epimanes (madman. See p. 122). Cornill has pointed out that the mystic numerical value of the Hebrew letters in the names of Nebuchadrezzar and Antiochus is 423 in each case.

did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hair was grown like eagles' *feathers*, and his nails like birds' *claws*.

The king's humble thanks for his cure and restoration. iv. 34–37.

34 And at the end of the days I Nebuchadnezzar lifted up mine eyes unto heaven, and mine understanding returned unto me, and I blessed the Most High [a], and I praised and honoured him that liveth or ever; for his dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his
35 kingdom from generation to generation: and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing: and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: and none can [1] stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest [1] Aram. *strike.*
36 thou? At the same time mine understanding returned unto me; and for the glory of my kingdom, my majesty and brightness returned unto me; and my counsellors and my lords sought unto me; and I was established in my kingdom, and excellent greatness
37 was added unto me. Now I Nebuchadnezzar praise and extol and honour the King of heaven; for all his works are truth, and his ways judgement: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase.

5. BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST [b]. v.

The banquet. v. 1–4.

5 Belshazzar the king [c] made a great feast to a thousand

[a] The words of this doxology are evidently based on Ps. cxlv. 13; Isa. xl. 17; Job ix. 12, which, even had they been anterior to the supposed date, could hardly have been familiar to a heathen king. See note on verse 1.

[b] This chapter, which teaches the lesson that 'verily there is a God that judgeth the earth' (Ps. lviii. 11), was based upon the tradition (probably unhistorical), mentioned by Herodotus (i. 191) and Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vii. 5, 15), that Cyrus captured Babylon whilst its inhabitants were feasting. It was probably written to assure the Jews that nemesis would overtake the audacious profanity of the tyrant, Antiochus Epiphanes, whose revelries at Daphne may have been in the author's mind (see *Encycl. Biblica*, c. 185). See viii. 10, 11; xi. 36–38; 1 Macc. i. 21–24.

[c] There was evidently a popular tradition as seen here (cf. vers. 11, 13, 18; vii. 1; viii. 1; Baruch i. 11, 12) that the last King of Babylon was a son of Nebuchadrezzar. But we know now from the inscriptions that Bel-sar-usur (of which Belshazzar is a corruption) was the son of Nabonidus (see Introd., p. 119), a usurper and no connexion of the royal family, and that although he may have been prince regent during his father's reign, he never occupied the throne himself, and moreover perished not at Babylon but at Accad. Some have indeed supposed that Belshazzar was a grandson of Nebuchadrezzar on his mother's side, but this is very improbable. His name, meaning 'Bel protect the king', is

of his lords, and drank wine before [a] the thousand.
Belshazzar, whiles he tasted the wine [b], commanded 2
to bring the golden and silver vessels which Nebuchadnezzar his father [c] had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem; that the king and his lords, his wives and his concubines, might drink therein. Then they brought the golden vessels that 3
were taken out of the temple of the house of God [d] which was at Jerusalem; and the king and his lords, his wives and his concubines, drank in them. They 4
drank wine, and praised [e] the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.

The writing on the wall. v. 5–9.

In the same hour came forth the fingers of a man's 5
hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister [f] of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote [g]. Then the 6
† [1] Aram. *brightness.* king's [1] countenance was changed in him, and his thoughts troubled him; and the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another.
The king cried aloud to bring in the enchanters, the 7
Chaldeans [h], and the soothsayers. The king spake and said to the wise men of Babylon, Whosoever shall read this writing, and shew me the interpretation
† [2] Or, *rule as one of three* thereof, shall be clothed with purple [i], and have a chain of gold about his neck [k], and shall [2] be the

confused by LXX, Vulgate, &c., with Belteshazzar. See note on i. 7, and Introd., p. 119.

[a] It would probably have been at a separate table on a raised platform at the end of the banquet hall. Cf. 2 Sam. ix. 10; Jer. lii. 33.

[b] i. e. when the wine was relished by him (Keil) or more probably 'in the wanton madness of one excited by wine' (Hitzig).

[c] See note on verse 1.

[d] See i. 2. There may be a reference to the similar act of impiety of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc. i. 21–24).

[e] Several hymns of praise are found on the inscriptions.

[f] Lit. 'chalk'. In the Mesopotamian palaces the lower part of the walls was generally lined with alabaster richly ornamented and coloured (cf. Ezek. xxiii. 14), the upper part being painted or left white.

[g] 'Boissier points out that predictions traced by a mysterious hand are referred to in a cuneiform soothsaying tablet (British Museum, No. 4030). Line three says, "If in the middle of the *ēkallu* (palace) a finger describes a figure, brigands will rule the land"' (*Encycl. Biblica*, 3021).

[h] See note on i. 4.

[i] In which princes and nobles were clad. Cf. Judges viii. 26; Esther vi. 8–11; viii. 15; Luke xvi. 19; Mark xv. 17, &c.

[k] Cf. Gen. xli. 42. An emblem, as amongst the Egyptians, Persians, and ourselves, of magisterial authority. Bestowed too, like our orders, by the sovereign.

8 third ruler in the kingdom [a]. Then came in all the king's wise men: but they could not read the writing, nor make known to the king the interpreta-
9 tion [b]. Then was king Belshazzar greatly troubled, and his countenance was changed in him, and his lords were perplexed.

Daniel is sent for. v. 10–16.

10 *Now* the queen [c] by reason of the words of the king and his lords came into the banquet house: the queen spake and said, O king, live for ever; let not thy thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy countenance be
11 changed: there is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father [d] light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him: and the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father [d], [1]the king, *I say*, thy father, made him master of the magicians, enchanters,
12 Chaldeans, and soothsayers; forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of dark sentences [e], and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar. Now let Daniel be called, and he will shew the interpretation.

[1] Or, *thy father, O king*

13 Then was Daniel brought in before the king. The king spake and said unto Daniel, Art thou that Daniel, which art of the children of the captivity of Judah [f], whom the king my father [d] brought out of
14 Judah? I have heard of thee, that the spirit of the gods is in thee, and that light and understanding and
15 excellent wisdom is found in thee. And now the

[a] Some have explained this as a reference to the fact that Belshazzar was himself only a governor of Babylon under the king, that Daniel being his subordinate is therefore to be third in order of rank; but the view of the writer is evidently that Belshazzar succeeded his 'father' Nebuchadrezzar as supreme king. The words probably mean one of three chief ministers having authority under Belshazzar. Cf. vi. 2.

[b] The implication seems to be that the writing was neither cuneiform nor Aramaic, but may have been Old Hebrew, as used before the Exile, and probably some time after. The Nabatean inscriptions (about third cent. B.C.) mark the transition between the old and new. (See Neubauer, *Studia Biblica*, i. x.)

[c] Probably queen-mother is meant (cf. Jer. xiii. 18; xxix. 2), i.e., in the writer's view, Nebuchadrezzar's widow.

[d] See note on verse 1.

[e] Declaring of riddles. Cf. Ps. xlix. 4; lxxviii. 2. One who 'shews dark sentences' is still used in the East as a title of honour.

[f] See verse 1; i. 1–6.

wise men, the enchanters, have been brought in before me, that they should read this writing, and make known unto me the interpretation thereof: but they could not shew the interpretation of the thing. But I have heard of thee, that thou canst give inter- 16
pretations, and dissolve doubts: now if thou canst read the writing, and make known to me the interpretation thereof, thou shalt be clothed with purple, and have a chain of gold about thy neck, and shalt
† 1 Or, *rule as one of three* 1 be the third ruler in the kingdom [a].

The king is reproved. v. 17–24.

Then Daniel answered and said before the king, Let 17
thy gifts be to thyself, and give thy rewards to another; nevertheless I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation. O thou king, the Most High God gave Nebuchad- 18
nezzar thy father [b] the kingdom, and greatness, and glory, and majesty: and because of the greatness 19
that he gave him, all the peoples, nations, and languages trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he raised up, and whom he would he put down. But when his heart was lifted 20
up, and his spirit was hardened that he dealt proudly, he was deposed from his kingly throne, and they took his glory from him: and he was driven from the sons 21
of men; and his heart was made like the beasts [c], and his dwelling was with the wild asses; he was fed with grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven: until he knew that the Most High God ruleth in the kingdom of men, and that he setteth up over it whomsoever he will. And thou his 22
son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this; but hast lifted up 23
thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou and thy lords, thy wives and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver, and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy

[a] See last note on verse 7. [b] See note on verse 1.
[c] This is an addition to what we are actually told in ch. iv, but it is perhaps implied in iv. 36.

24 ways, hast thou not glorified: then was the part of
the hand sent from before him, and this writing was
inscribed.

The interpretation of the writing. v. 25–28.

25 And this is the writing that was inscribed, [1] MENE,
26 MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN [a]. This is the interpretation
of the thing: MENE; God hath numbered thy
27 kingdom, and brought it to an end. TEKEL; thou art
weighed in the balances, and art found wanting [b].
28 [2] PERES; thy kingdom is divided, and given to the
Medes and Persians.

[1] That is, *Numbered, numbered, weighed, and divisions.*

[2] That is, *Divided.*

Its fulfilment. v. 29–31.

29 Then commanded Belshazzar, and they clothed
Daniel with purple, and put a chain of gold about
his neck, and made proclamation concerning him,
that he should [3] be the third ruler in the kingdom.
30 In that night Belshazzar the Chaldean king was slain.
31 And Darius the Mede [c] received the kingdom, being
about threescore and two years old.

[3] Or, *rule as one of three* † [Ch. vi. 1 in Aram.]

[a] These were probably the names of three weights, 'a mina, a mina, a shekel, and a half', i.e. two minas, a shekel, and a half. *Mene* in Aramaic, however, meant 'numbered'; *tekel* closely resembled *tekil*, 'weighed'; and *peres* (plural *pharsin*—the *u* means 'and'), meaning 'division ('and divisions'), suggested *paras*, Persian (and Persians). These weights may be intended primarily to express the small weight or value of Belshazzar (cf. ver. 27). Some, without doing great violence to the text, would however read, 'Smite, smite, slay (cf. 'slain' in ver. 30) ye Persians' (or, 'thou Persian'). In this case the *u* is the natural termination of the plural imperfect. Marquart thinks that the legend of the writing hand is based on the apparition seen by Heliodorus (2 Macc. iii. 24 ff.).

[b] In the Egyptian Book of the Dead a pair of scales is held before Osiris in which the actions of the deceased are weighed, and a similar thought is frequent in the Bible. Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 3; Isa. xxvi. 7; Job xxxi. 6; Ps. lxii. 9; Prov. xvi. 2.

[c] According to the writer the Medes and Persians were acting together when Babylon was captured (ver. 28), 'Darius the Mede received the kingdom' (ver. 31; ix. 1), and resided in Babylon (ch. vi), Cyrus reigning after him (vi. 28). But this view does not accord with history. For although the Medes, whose empire fell (559 B.C.), joined Cyrus in 549 B.C. and filled high offices under the Persians, they did not, after this date, rule independently. There is no mention in the inscriptions of 'Darius the Mede' between Nabonidus and Cyrus, who commenced his reign in Babylon immediately after its fall. The writer seems to have confused Cyrus's general Gobryas, who was probably a Mede, and was made governor of Babylon, with Darius Hystaspes (Ezra iv. 5, &c.; Hag. i. 1; ii. 10; Zech. i. 7), who was the father and not the son (ix. 1) of Ahasuerus (Xerxes). Isa. xiii. 17 and Jer. li. 11, 28 may also have influenced the writer.

6. DANIEL IN THE DEN OF LIONS[a]. vi.

Daniel's elevation by Darius. vi. 1–3.

It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred 6
and twenty satraps[b], which should be throughout the
whole kingdom; and over them three presidents, of 2
whom Daniel was one; that these satraps might give
account unto them, and that the king should have no
damage. Then this Daniel was distinguished above 3
the presidents and the satraps, because an excellent
spirit was in him; and the king thought to set him
over the whole realm.

The intrigue against Daniel. vi. 4–9.

Then the presidents and the satraps sought to find 4
occasion against Daniel as touching the kingdom[c];
but they could find none occasion nor fault; forasmuch as he was faithful, neither was there any error
or fault found in him. Then said these men, We 5
shall not find any occasion against this Daniel, except
we find it against him concerning the law of his God.
† [1] Or, *came tumultuously* (and so in vv. 11, 15) [2] Or, *that the king should establish a statute, and make &c.*
Then these presidents and satraps [1] assembled together[d] 6
to the king, and said thus unto him, King Darius, live for
ever. All the presidents of the kingdom, the deputies 7
and the satraps, the counsellors and the governors, have
consulted together [2] to establish a royal statute, and to
make a strong interdict[e], that whosoever shall ask
a petition of any god or man for thirty days, save of
thee, O king, he shall be cast into the den of lions[f].

[a] This story, which illustrates such passages as Ps. lvii. 4; xci. 13, was intended to encourage the pious Jews under the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes to continue bravely loyal to the God of their fathers.

[b] These satraps lived almost like kings, farming the taxes, and sending tribute and soldiers to their sovereign. Such were appointed by Gobryas (see note on v. 31) in Babylon, and the writer may have confused this with the division of the Persian Empire into twenty satrapies by Darius Hystaspes (522–485 B.C.) for the express purpose of taxation (Herod. iii. 89). Or it may have been suggested to him by Esther i. 1; viii. 9.

[c] i.e. on political grounds. No doubt jealousy that a Jew should be promoted over them was the motive intended.

[d] This phrase, which recurs in verses 11 and 15, 'is singular, and looks as if it were *intentionally* grotesque by way of satire. The etiquette of Oriental courts is always most elaborately stately and requires solemn obeisance' (Farrar, p. 224).

[e] Such an interdict would have been preposterously outrageous even for an Oriental despot. But 'by consenting to the plan proposed, Darius would acknowledge the Babylonian system of theology according to which the king was the living manifestation of all the gods, while at the same time his subjects would have an opportunity of doing him religious homage' (Deane).

[f] Lions for the chase had already been kept by the Assyrians (cf. Ezek. xix.

8 Now, O king, establish the interdict, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which [1] altereth not [a]. 1 Aram. *passeth not away.*
9 Wherefore king Darius signed the writing and the interdict.

Daniel's persistence in prayer. vi. 10, 11.

10 And when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house; (now his windows were open [b] in his chamber toward Jerusalem [c];) and he kneeled upon his knees three times a day [d], and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did
11 aforetime. Then these men assembled together, and found Daniel making petition and supplication before his God.

The den of lions. vi. 12–17.

12 Then they came near, and spake before the king concerning the king's interdict; Hast thou not signed an interdict, that every man that shall make petition unto any god or man within thirty days, save unto thee, O king, shall be cast into the den of lions? The king answered and said, The thing is true, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which [1] altereth
13 not. Then answered they and said before the king,

9), and the inscriptions shew that criminals were occasionally thrown to them. In the British Museum there is a tablet shewing a man letting a lion out of a large cage. Dr. Pusey describes a lions' den at Fez in Morocco, into which criminals and Jews were often thrown (p. 416).

[a] This profound respect for the law was somewhat farcical, inasmuch as the royal judges, who were the guardians of Persian law, themselves declared to Cambyses that they had discovered a law which permitted 'that the king of the Persians might do what he pleased' (Herod. iii. 31).

[b] The lattices could be either opened or removed. According to Moore, 'the upper story of an Oriental house which is raised above the roof at one corner, or upon a tower like an annexe to the building, and contains one room, through which windows on all sides allow the air to circulate freely. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 19, 23; 2 Kings i. 2; iv. 10, 11; Acts i. 13, &c.' (on Judges iii. 20, *Polychrome Bible*).

[c] The Talmud teaches that Jews in foreign countries should pray towards Palestine; those in Palestine towards Jerusalem; those in Jerusalem towards the Temple. The custom was no doubt based upon 1 Kings viii. 35–48. Cf. Ps. v. 7; xxviii. 2, and was enjoined by Mahomet on his followers at first. But Moslems were subsequently commanded to pray towards Mecca (the Kibla in every mosque is in this direction), just as the Samaritans pray towards Mount Gerizim. The orientation of our churches is based upon a somewhat similar principle.

[d] Cf. Ps. lv. 17. From about the second century B.C. the Jewish hours of prayer were (1) in the morning at the time of the burnt-offering; (2) in the afternoon at the ninth hour (our 3 p.m.: cf. Acts iii. 1; x. 30) at the time of the meal-offering; and (3) at sunset. See Oesterley and Box, *Synagogue Religion and Worship*, p. 316.

That Daniel, which is of the children of the captivity of Judah, regardeth not thee, O king, nor the interdict that thou hast signed, but maketh his petition three times a day. Then the king, when he heard 14
these words, was sore displeased, and set his heart on Daniel to deliver him: and he laboured till the going down of the sun to rescue him [a]. Then these men 15
assembled together unto the king, and said unto the king, Know, O king, that it is a law of the Medes and Persians, that no interdict nor statute which the king establisheth may be changed. Then the king 16
commanded, and they brought Daniel, and cast him into the den of lions. *Now* the king spake and said unto Daniel, Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee. And a stone was brought, and 17
laid upon the mouth of the den; and the king sealed it with his own signet [b], and with the signet of his lords; [1] that nothing might be changed concerning Daniel.

† [1] Or, *that there might be no change of purpose*

Daniel's deliverance. vi. 18–23.

Then the king went to his palace, and passed the 18
night fasting: neither were [2] instruments of music [c] brought before him: and his sleep fled from him. Then the king arose very early in the morning, and 19
went in haste unto the den of lions. And when he 20
came near unto the den to Daniel, he cried with a lamentable voice: the king spake and said to Daniel, O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions? Then said Daniel unto the 21
king, O king, live for ever. My God hath sent his 22
angel [d], and hath shut the lions' mouths, and they

[2] Or, *dancing girls*

[a] In the East the death sentence is generally executed on the day of its pronouncement, so that these words indicate that in Daniel's case the king deferred it as long as possible.

[b] Cf. Lam. iii. 53. In the East the seal was originally, as it is still sometimes, suspended from the neck (Gen. xxxviii. 18); subsequently it was worn on the right hand (Jer. xxii. 24, cf. Cant. viii. 6). 'Every one has a seal' writes Herodotus (i. 195) of the Babylonians, and they were common among the Assyrians, Persians, and Egyptians with whom they probably originated, and quite early took the form of a scarab. The oldest Babylonian form seems to have been that of a cylinder, that of Darius Hystaspes representing the king hunting lions. Cf. 1 Kings xxi. 8; Esther iii. 12; viii. 8, 10. See *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. *Ring*.

[c] It is doubtful which rendering should be preferred. Gesenius explains the word as 'concubines', and the same meaning is obtained by Marti and others by a correction of the text as in v. 3, 23.

[d] See iii. 28; Ps. xxxiv. 7; xci. 11, 13; Heb. xi. 33.

have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, have
23 I done no hurt. Then was the king exceeding glad, and commanded that they should take Daniel up out of the den. So Daniel was taken up out of the den, and no manner of hurt was found upon him, because he had trusted in his God.

Punishment of the conspirators. vi. 24.

24 And the king commanded, and they brought those men which had accused Daniel, and they cast them into the den of lions, them, their children, and their wives [a]; and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces, or ever they came at the bottom of the den.

The proclamation of the king. vi. 25–28.

25 Then king Darius wrote unto all the peoples, nations, and languages, that dwell in all the earth; Peace be
26 multiplied unto you. I make a decree, that in all the dominion of my kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel: for he is [b] the living God, and stedfast for ever, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, and his dominion shall be even unto the
27 end: he delivereth and rescueth, and he worketh signs and wonders in heaven and in earth; who hath
28 delivered Daniel from the power of the lions. So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.

[a] In accordance with Oriental ideas of justice. Joshua vii. 24; 2 Sam. xxi. 1–6. Cf. Esther ix. 13, 14, &c.; Herod. iii. 119.

[b] These words, among many others, are found on the curious title-page of Coverdale's Great Bible, 1559, designed by Holbein. The ideas and their form of expression in the proclamation are strongly scriptural. See Ps. x. 16, &c.: cf. ii. 44; iii. 29; iv. 1–3 (where see notes).

Part II. vii—xii.

FOUR VISIONS AND REVELATIONS [a] RECORDED TO ENCOURAGE THOSE WHO WERE BEING PERSECUTED (BY ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES) WITH THE BELIEF THAT GOD CONTROLS HISTORY AND THAT AN END TO THE TRIAL OF HIS PEOPLE IS APPOINTED.

I. THE VISION OF THE FOUR BEASTS AND THE LITTLE HORN [b]. vii.

1. THE DREAM. vii. 1–14.

(1) *THE FOUR GREAT BEASTS.* vii. 1–8.

Four monsters arise from the sea. vii. 1–3.

7 In the first year [c] of Belshazzar king of Babylon Daniel [1] had a dream and visions of his head [d] upon his bed: then he wrote the dream and told the sum of the matters [e]. Daniel spake and said, I saw in my **2** vision by night, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven brake forth upon the great sea [f]. And four **3** great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another.

[1] Aram. *saw.*

[a] These constitute a distinct series, not only in form and substance but in chronological order, in which they do not continue chs. i–vi, but cover nearly the same ground. Thus chs. vii–viii would precede chronologically ch. v (cf. v. 30 with vii. 1 and viii. 1). (See Introd., p. 124.)

[b] Auberlen, in describing the distinction between the visions of Nebuchadrezzar (ch. ii) and of Daniel (ch. vii) says: 'The world-power appeared to the king in its glory as a splendid human figure, and the Divine Kingdom in its humility as a stone; at first he beheld the world-power more glorious than the Kingdom of God. Daniel, on the other hand, to whom it was given to penetrate further into the inner essence of things, saw that the kingdoms of the world, notwithstanding their defiant power, are of a nature animal and lower than human . . . that only in the Kingdom of God is the true dignity of humanity revealed. . . . The colossal figure (ch. ii) represents mankind in its own strength and greatness; however splendid, it presents only the outward appearance of a man. But Daniel, regarding mankind in its spiritual condition, saw humanity, through its alienation from God, degraded to the level of reasonless animals, enslaved by the dark powers of nature' (*Preacher's Homilet. Comm.*, Daniel, p. 114). See note on ii. 31–35.

[c] For reasons given in the note on v. 1 it is impossible to determine the actual date intended.

[d] Cf. ii. 28, where see note.

[e] i. e. its principal features.

[f] In the Old Testament (Joshua i. 4; ix. 1, &c.) usually the Mediterranean. But here it probably means the sea of nations (see Isa. xvii. 12; Ps. xlvi. 3: cf. ver. 17; Rev. xvii. 15) disturbed by political and social agitations in all quarters.

The winged lion[a] (*Chaldaea*). vii. 4.

4 The first was like a lion, and had eagle's[b] wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon two feet as a man, and a man's heart[c] was given to it.

The devouring bear (*Media*). vii. 5.

5 And behold another beast, a second, like to a bear[d], and [1] it was raised up on one side[e], and three ribs[f] were in his mouth between his teeth: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh[g].

[1] Or, as otherwise read, *it raised up one dominion*

The four-headed winged leopard (*Persia*). vii. 6.

6 After this I beheld, and lo another, like a leopard[h], which had upon the back[i] of it four wings[k] of a fowl; the beast had also four heads[l]; and dominion was given to it[m].

[a] The symbolism of kings and kingdoms under the form of beasts was an ancient practice. See Isa. xxvii. 1; Ezek. xxix. 3; xxxii. 2. Such descriptions as this were suggested by the winged lions and the other monsters of the Babylonian bas-reliefs. Eastern writers adopted these as symbols of spiritual beings. Cf. Isa. vi. 6; Ezek. i. 10. See note on Ezek. i. 5. The Chaldean Empire is evidently intended, as in ii. 32, 38; cf. Jer. xlix. 19–22; Ezek. xvii. 3, 12.

[b] The griffon vulture. See notes on Mic. i. 16; Obad. 4.

[c] i.e. human intelligence. This appears to be the exact reverse of ch. iv. 16, where Nebuchadrezzar receives the heart of a beast instead of a man. Perhaps the point here is that the Neo-Babylonian Empire, the great monster of cruelty and power, would prove to be but a man after all.

[d] Next to the lion, although regarded as distinctly inferior to it, the most formidable beast known in Palestine (1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 Kings ii. 24; Amos v. 19; Hos. xiii. 8). It corresponds here to the silver of ii. 32, and points to the destructive Median Empire, which the writer thought succeeded to the Chaldean. See note on ii. 39.

[e] The Median Empire 'gravitated, as regards its power, only towards the west of the Tigris' (Ewald).

[f] As prey which in its voracity it had seized. Possibly Babylon, Assyria, and Syria, over which Media dominated, are intended.

[g] The Medes had been represented by earlier prophets as the destroyers of Babylon (Isa. xiii. 17–18; xxi. 2; Jer. li. 11, 28). Aristotle (*H. N.* viii. 5) calls the bear, on account of its voracity, παμφάγος, all-devouring (Keil).

[h] Remarkable for its vigilance (Jer. v. 6), swiftness (Hab. i. 8), and patient waiting for its prey (Hos. xiii. 7).

[i] Driver, following Bevan, &c., renders 'on its sides'.

[k] To denote exceptional agility.

[l] Perhaps the four Persian kings mentioned in the Old Testament—Cyrus, Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes (Ahasuerus), Artaxerxes—are meant (xi. 2).

[m] Cf. ii. 39. The Persian Empire was far stronger than the Median which, in the writer's view, preceded it. See note on v. 31.

The ten-horned monster (*Macedonia*). vii. 7.

After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a 7
fourth beast, terrible and [1] powerful, and strong ex-
ceedingly; and it had great iron teeth [a]: it devoured
and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with
his feet: and it was diverse from all the beasts that
were before it; and it had ten horns [b].

[1] Or, *dreadful*

The little horn (*Antiochus Epiphanes*). vii. 8.

I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up 8
among them another horn, a little one [c], before which
three of the first horns were plucked up by the roots:
and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of
a man, and a mouth speaking great things [d].

(2) *THE HEAVENLY ASSIZE.* vii. 9–14.

The Judge and His court. vii. 9–10.

I beheld till thrones were [2] placed [e], and one that was 9
ancient of days [f] did sit: his raiment was white as
snow, and the hair of his head like pure wool; his
throne was fiery flames, *and* the wheels [g] thereof
burning fire. A fiery stream [h] issued and came forth 10
from before him: thousand thousands ministered

[2] Or, *cast down*

[a] Because of its ferocity and wantonness. Cf. ii. 40. It has no name, but is a powerful and destructive monster and represents Alexander the Great. Cf. viii. 5, 21; xi. 3. In verse 19 it is further described as having nails of brass. See note on verse 23.

[b] See notes on ii. 41, 42. The reference is clearly to the Seleucid successors of Alexander.

[c] i. e. in its beginning. Cf. viii. 9 where, as here, Antiochus Epiphanes is meant. (See also viii. 23 ff.) His persecution of the Jews (B. C. 168–165) is the subject of viii. 10–14, 24, 25 and xi. 31–33. See Ps. lxxv. 4, 5, where he is very possibly alluded to.

[d] Keen and shrewd, proud and presumptuous. See xi. 36; 1 Macc. i. 24. Cf. Rev. xiii. 5. He assumed the titles of Epiphanes, 'the illustrious' (which his scornful subjects changed to Epimanes, 'mad'), and even of Theos, on some of his coins. See note on xi. 36, and Introd., p. 122.

[e] For the heavenly judicial assessors. The judgement scene, common in other apocalyptic books and in N.T., appears first here. On this is based much of the imagery of the Apocalypse (Rev. i. 14) and of the book of Enoch (xlvi. 1; lxxi. 10).

[f] i. e. an aged man 'in whose dignified and impressive form God reveals Himself. Cf. Ezek. i. 26' (Keil). The Book of Enoch has 'The Head of Days'.

[g] Representing Omnipresence. Grotius says that the ancient thrones and curule chairs had wheels. Cf. Ezek. i. 15–21; x. 9–13.

[h] Fire is often found in connexion with manifestations of God, not only as being in itself suitable, but as possessing the power to consume all that is corrupt. Cf. Gen. xv. 17; Exod. iii. 2; Deut. iv. 24, &c.

unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand [a] stood before him: the judgement was set [b], and the books [c] were opened.

The judgement of the four beasts. vii. 11–12.

11 I beheld at that time because of the voice of the great words which the horn [d] spake; I beheld even till the beast [e] was slain, and his body destroyed, and he was
12 given [1] to be burned with fire. And as for the rest of the beasts [f], their dominion was taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time [g].

[1] Aram. *to the burning of fire.*

The everlasting Kingdom of the Son of Man. vii. 13–14.

13 I saw in the night visions, and, behold, there came with the clouds of heaven [h] one like unto a son of man [i], and he came even to the ancient of days, and
14 they [k] brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that

[a] These angelic beings are other than the assessors suggested in verse 9. We see here and in verses 16 ff., viii. 15 ff., ix. 21 ff. 'traces of the effort, which afterwards reached a climax in the Rabbinical theology, to guard the person of God from all direct contact with the visible world' (Kautsch in Hastings's *D.B.* vol. v. p. 714).

[b] i. e. the court was seated in judgement. Cf. Ps. ix. 4.

[c] In which the deeds of the four beasts are recorded. Cf. Ps. lvi. 8; Isa. lxv. 6; Mal. iii. 16 (where see note); Rev. xx. 12.

[d] See note on verse 8.

[e] i. e. the fourth empire, itself and its organization (the body), the guilt of which reached a climax in Antiochus Epiphanes.

[f] i. e. the three beasts of verses 4–6. As in ch. ii, so here the empires are presented as contemporaneous, and not, of course, as they would be in reality, successive.

[g] The nations themselves would survive even after the empires had departed, until such time as God had appointed.

[h] With superhuman majesty and state. Matt. xxiv. 30; xxvi. 64; Mark xiii. 26; xiv. 62; Luke xxi. 27; Acts i. 11; Rev. i. 7; x. 4; xiv. 14–16 are all based on this passage. Jehovah Himself is described as making the clouds His chariot in Ps. civ. 3.

[i] i. e. a human figure. Later Jewish writers saw a reference to the Messiah in this verse, and it is probably the source through the Book of Enoch, where it is first embodied in an individual, of Christ's title, 'the Son of Man', in the Gospels, but in view of the interpretation given in verses 18, 22, 27, the author clearly means the kingdom of a purified and regenerate Israel here personified, upon which the world-dominion, having passed from the kingdoms of this world, will be bestowed. As Wittichen says, the title represents the ethical character of the future Israelitish dominion, as opposed to the worldly heathen dominions. 'As wild beasts were appropriate emblems of the world-powers, the reasonableness and sanctity of the saintly theocracy are indicated by a human form' (Farrar, p. 250). Cf. Ps. lxxx, where in verse 17 'son of man' symbolizes Israel, and 'the boar' in verse 13 some heathen power or king. See vol. i. p. xxvi. note 2.

[k] Angelic beings are meant. See note on verse 9.

all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

2. THE INTERPRETATION. vii. 15–28.

Daniel seeks an explanation of the vision. vii. 15–16.

15 As for me Daniel, my spirit was grieved in the midst
†[1] Aram. *the sheath.* of [1] my body [a], and the visions of my head [b] troubled
me. I came near unto one of them that stood by [c], 16
and asked him the truth concerning all this. So he
told me, and made me know the interpretation of the
things.

Four great empires and the kingdom of the saints. vii. 17–18.

17 These great beasts, which are four, are four kings [d],
which shall arise out of the earth. But the saints of 18
the Most High shall receive the kingdom, and possess
the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever [e].

The fourth great empire (Macedonian) and its offshoots (the Seleucidae [f]). vii. 19–24a.

19 Then I desired to know the truth concerning the
fourth beast, which was diverse from all of them, ex-
ceeding terrible, whose teeth were of iron, and his
nails of brass; which devoured, brake in pieces, and
stamped the residue with his feet [g]; and concerning 20
the ten horns that were on his head, and the other
horn which came up, and before which three fell;
even that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake
great things, whose look was more stout than his
fellows. I beheld, and the same horn made war with 21
the saints, and prevailed against them [h]; until the 22

[a] The body is here curiously called a sheath—a case for the soul.
[b] See note on ii. 28.
[c] See note on verse 10. Cf. Zech. i. 7—vi. 8 *passim*.
[d] Representing their respective kingdoms, although the fourth is rather a kingdom with various kings (see vers. 23, 24).
[e] A never-ending and universal empire will be given to the ideal and glorified Israel. See verses 13, 27. Cf. Exod. xix. 6; Lev. xi. 44, 45; xix. 2, &c.
[f] These were the descendants of Seleucus, one of Alexander's generals (see note on ii. 41).
[g] The reference is clearly to the conquests of Alexander the Great. See verse 7.
[h] The violent attempts of Antiochus Epiphanes to rob the Jews of their nationality and their faith (cf. ver. 25; viii. 10–14, 24, 25) were frustrated by Jehovah.

ancient of days came, and judgement was given [1] to
the saints of the Most High; and the time came that
23 the saints possessed the kingdom. Thus he [a] said,
The fourth beast shall be a fourth kingdom [b] upon
earth, which shall be diverse from all the kingdoms,
and shall devour the whole earth [c], and shall [2] tread
24 it down [d], and break it in pieces. And as for the ten
horns, out of this kingdom shall ten [e] kings arise:

[1] Or, *for*

[2] Or, *thresh it* †

The great tyrant (Antiochus Epiphanes) and his persecution of God's people. vii. 24b–26.

and another shall arise after them; and he shall be
diverse from the former, and he shall put down three
25 kings [f]. And he shall speak words against the Most
High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High:
and he shall think to change the times and the law [g];
and they shall be given into his hand until a time and
26 times and half a time [h]. But the judgement shall sit [i],
and they shall take away his dominion, to consume
and to destroy it unto the end [k].

The final triumph of the people of God. vii. 27.

27 And the kingdom and the dominion, and the great-
ness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall
be given to the people of the saints of the Most High:
his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all
dominions shall serve and obey him [l].

[a] The angel. See verse 16.

[b] i. e. the Macedonian Empire.

[c] See note on verse 7. 'To the passage of the Granicus, Alexander owed the conquest of the Greek colonies; to the battle of Issus the reduction of Tyre and Egypt; to the battle of Arbela, the empire of the world' (Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, x. 14). See note on viii. 5.

[d] Cf. Isa. xli. 15; Mic. iv. 13.

[e] The number is no doubt a round one. The Seleucidae who preceded Antiochus Epiphanes were actually seven in number only, viz. Seleucus I, Antiochus I, Antiochus II, Seleucus II, Seleucus III, Antiochus III (the Great), Seleucus IV. It has been pointed out that the number corresponds to the ten toes of the image of ch. ii.

[f] As Antiochus had to contend with Heliodorus, Demetrius (xi. 21), and Ptolemy VII (Philometor, xi. 22–28) before he could secure the throne, these may be meant.

[g] i. e. hope or plan to change Jewish festivals and ordinances of the Law (1 Macc. i. 44–49).

[h] i. e. three and a half years, which throughout the book is the period appointed for the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. It began with the edict (1 Macc. i. 20–53) which followed the mission of Apollonius against Jerusalem, about June 168 B. C., and ended with the re-dedication of the Temple on 25 Chisleu (Dec. 165 B. C., 1 Macc. iv. 52, 53).

[i] Cf. verse 10.

[k] Cf. vi. 26.

[l] See verses 14 and 18 (note).

The effect on Daniel. vii. 28.

[1] Aram. *Hitherto.* [†2] Aram. *brightness.*

[1] Here is the end of the matter [a]. As for me Daniel, 28
my thoughts much troubled me, and my [2] countenance
was changed in me: but I kept the matter in my heart [b].

II. THE VISION OF THE RAM AND THE HE-GOAT [c]. viii.

1. *THE VISION.* viii. 1–14.

The prophet's self-projection into Persia. viii. 1–2.

In the third [d] year of the reign of king Belshazzar 8
a vision appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after
that which appeared unto me at the first [e]. And 2
I saw in the vision; now it was so, that when I saw [f],
[3] Or, *castle* I was in Shushan the [3] palace [g], which is in the province
of Elam; and I saw in the vision, and I was by the
river Ulai [h].

The ram's two horns (the Medes and Persians) pushing towards the west, the north, and the south. viii. 3–4.

Then I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and, behold, 3
there stood before the river a ram [i] which had two

[a] i. e. of the vision and its interpretation.

[b] Cf. xii. 6; Luke ii. 19.

[c] The vision concerns the establishment of the Macedonian Empire, its rapid dissolution into the kingdoms of the Diadochi, and the tyrannical persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, which it is solemnly averred shall come to an end.

[d] See note on vii. 1. The Hebrew language, which was changed to Aramaic at ii. 4 (where see note), is here resumed.

[e] i. e. in ch. vii. Cf. ix. 21.

[f] Daniel's transference in spirit is analogous to that of Ezekiel (viii. 3—xi. 24; xl. 1 ff.). Cf. Rev. iv. 1, 2.

[g] The citadel or acropolis of Susa (Shushan), the capital of Elam, which from the time of Darius Hystaspes was the chief residence of the Persian kings (cf. Neh. i. 1; Esther i. 2), and occupied for nearly two centuries a prominent position in the world. As the rise and fall of the Persian Empire is now the subject of an important part of the vision (vers. 3-7), it was suitable to place the seer at Susa.

[h] A large river flowing into the Persian Gulf, the classical Eulaeus, identified with the modern Karûn, or, according to others, the Kerkhah, the ancient Choaspes. There is a trace of an ancient channel which seems to prove that the latter originally flowed into the former, and on its way passed close by Susa. According to Pliny the Eulaeus surrounded its citadel. The Karûn now flows some distance to the east of its site. See Rawlinson, *Five Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 457, 458, and map at the beginning of the volume; Hastings's *D.B.* iv. p. 285.

[i] The ram, an emblem of power and dominion (cf. Jer. li. 40; Ezek. xxxiv. 17) represents, particularly in its two horns, the combined empire of the Medes and Persians (see ver. 30). The larger and later horn was the stronger, and

horns: and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last.
4 I saw the ram pushing [a] westward, and northward, and southward; and no beasts could stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and magnified himself.

The goat from the west (Macedonians) with a notable horn (Alexander the Great) overcomes the ram. viii. 5–7.

5 And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west [b] over the face of the whole earth, and [1] touched not the ground [c]: and the goat had a notable
6 horn [d] between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had the two horns, which I saw standing before the river, and ran upon him in the fury [e] of his power.
7 And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him: but he cast him down to the ground, and trampled upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand.

[1] Heb. *none touched the ground.*

The goat's great horn (Alexander the Great) being broken, four other notable horns (Alexander's generals) arise. viii. 8.

8 And the he-goat magnified himself exceedingly: and

(in the writer's view) later Persian Empire, whose guardian spirit is represented in the *Avesta* under the figure of a ram. See notes on ii. 39 and v. 31.

[a] i.e. butting. The allusion is to the conquests of Cyrus and Cambyses in Palestine, Asia Minor, and Egypt.

[b] A goat often appears as the symbol of Macedonia because of the tradition that Caranus, its first king, was led by goats to the place chosen for his capital. For the symbolic use of goats cf. Isa. xiv. 9; xxxiv. 6; Ezek. xxxix. 18; Zech. x. 3.

[c] A graphic expression to denote their speed. Driver cites, as parallel, Homer's description of the horses of Erichthonius (*Iliad*, xx. 226–9) and Virgil's of the huntress Camilla (*Aeneid*, vii. 805–11). From the battle of Granicus in Mysia, where Alexander (334 B. C.) won his first victory over the Persians, to the battle of Arbela, a little to the east of Nineveh, when the fate of their empire was decided (331 B. C.), was only three years. See note on vii. 23.

[d] The conspicuous horn (cf. ver. 21) is Alexander the Great who, by crossing the Indus, penetrated farther east than any of his Mesopotamian predecessors. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 3. See note on vii. 23.

[e] This represents 'the vengeance cherished by the Greeks against Persia since the old days of Marathon (490 B. C.), Thermopylae (480 B. C.), Salamis (480 B. C.), Plutaea (479 B. C.), and Mycale (479 B. C.)' (Farrar).

when he was strong, the great horn was broken [a]; and instead of it there came up four [b] notable *horns* toward the four winds of heaven.

The might and impiety of a little horn (Antiochus Epiphanes). viii. 9–12.

9 And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the glorious *land* [c]. 10 And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven [d]; and some of the host and of the stars it cast down to the ground, and trampled upon them. 11 Yea, it magnified itself, even to the prince of the host [e]; and [1] it took away from him the continual *burnt offering* [f], and the place of his sanctuary was cast down [g]. 12 And [2] the host was given over *to it* together with the continual *burnt offering* through transgression [h]; and it cast down truth [i] to the ground, and it did *its pleasure* and prospered.

[1] Another reading is, *the continual* burnt offering *was taken away from him.*

†[2] Or, *an host was given to it against the &c.* Or, *an host was set over the &c.*

[a] After his numerous conquests in the East, Alexander returned to Babylon in 324 B.C., and died of fever the following year at the early age of 32, having reigned twelve years and eight months.

[b] LXX is probably right in adding 'other'. The four dominions of Macedonia under Cassander, Thrace under Symmachus, Syria under Seleucus, and Egypt under Ptolemy, into which (301 B.C.) after many councils and battles Alexander's empire was ultimately divided, are probably meant. The vision, however, is only further concerned with the Syrian Kingdom, and, of the Seleucidae who ruled it, especially with Antiochus Epiphanes, its eighth sovereign. (See note on vii. 24 a.)

[c] i.e. towards Egypt (see note on xi. 21), Elymais, east of Babylonia (see note on xi. 40), and Palestine (see xi. 16, 41. Cf. Jer. iii. 19; Ezek. xx. 6, 9, 15).

[d] Antiochus Epiphanes not merely reached up to heaven in his pride, but cast down and trampled upon its stars; i.e. he attacked and martyred the loyal adherents of the Jewish faith. (See ver. 24; 1 Macc. i. 24, 30, 57, 63, &c. Cf. Isa. xiv. 13–14; Job xx. 6; 2 Macc. ix. 10).

[e] i.e. Jehovah Himself (cf. ver. 25; xi. 36). The host is regarded as a disciplined army obedient to its Leader (Isa. xl. 26).

'Not e'en against the Holy One of heaven
Refrained his tongue blasphemous' (Milton).

[f] 'The Tamîd or "Standing Sacrifice" offered twice a day on the high altar, was the offering of the nation. Every Jew contributed to its maintenance. So closely was it identified with the public welfare, that in times of stress all other sacrifices were abandoned before it was, and its stoppage meant the utmost calamity to the state' (G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 523). It was this, with the other Temple sacrifices, that Antiochus suspended for three years. See 1 Macc. i. 45, 59.

[g] For this terrible treatment of the Temple and its institutions see 1 Macc. i. 21–23, 39; iii. 45; iv. 38.

[h] This may mean that an army of Israelites (vers. 10, 11), together with the 'Tamîd', was given over to the power of Antiochus on account of the apostasy of the Hellenizing Jews. The marginal rendering is, however, better. The warfare (Isa. xl. 2) was waged individually against the Tamîd, soldiers being kept in the city of David to overawe the worshippers (1 Macc. i. 33–38).

[i] i.e. true religion (1 Macc. i. 43–52, 56, 60. Cf. Dan. ix. 13; Ps. xxv. 5).

The time that the desecration of the Sanctuary would last. viii. 13–14.

13 Then I heard [a] a holy one speaking; and another
holy one said unto that certain one which spake,
How long shall be the vision *concerning* the continual
burnt offering, and the transgression that maketh
desolate [b], to give both the sanctuary and the host to
14 be trodden under foot? And he said [1] unto me,
Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings *and*
mornings [c]; then shall the sanctuary be [2] cleansed.

[1] According to the ancient versions, *unto him.*
[2] Heb. *justified.*

2. *THE INTERPRETATION.* viii. 15–27.

Gabriel is sent to explain the vision to Daniel. viii. 15–19.

15 And it came to pass, when I, even I Daniel, had
seen the vision, that I sought [3] to understand it; and,
behold, there stood before me as the appearance of a
16 man [d]. And I heard a man's voice between *the banks*
of Ulai [e], which called, and said, Gabriel [f], make this

[3] Heb. *understanding.*

[a] Daniel overhears two angels talking, and learns how long this desecration is to continue.

[b] Scholars are divided between the meaning 'that layeth waste' (LXX, cf. 1 Macc. i. 54 and Mark xiii. 14) and 'that stupefieth' (cf. Jer. iv. 9; Ezra ix. 3; Ezek. iii. 15; xxxii. 10). It refers probably to the heathen worship established by Antiochus in the Temple, with special reference perhaps (cf. xi. 31; xii. 11) to the altar erected by him on the altar of burnt-offering (see p. 122, and 1 Macc. i. 47, 51, 54, 59). Bevan conjectures that Antiochus himself was worshipped there under an image of Zeus Olympius (*Journal of Hellen. Studies*, xx, 1900, 26 ff.). In any case it was extremely abhorrent to the pious Jews.

[c] When the twice daily sacrifices were offered, therefore 1,150 days, i. e. three years and five months, a slightly shorter period therefore than the three and a half years (see note on vii. 25) elsewhere assigned in the book for Antiochus's persecution. Probably the latter is given in round numbers, or we must suppose that the period here given should be reckoned as beginning at some later point in Antiochus's career than the three and a half years of vii. 25 (where see note; cf. viii. 14; ix. 27; xi. 31 ff.; xii. 7). Behrmann and Cornill think that the purification of the Temple is here already accomplished (165 B. C.). But Kamphausen now follows Kuenen and Wellhausen in view of the similarity of expression in ix. 27, and prefers the usual view that this purification lies still in the author's future. Thus 167 B. C. is the probable date of the book. See Introd., pp. 121, 123.

[d] The Heb. word *geber* (and not *adam* or *ish*) is used evidently because of Gabriel, which means 'man of God'.

[e] See note on verse 2. Cf. xii. 6, 7.

[f] Gabriel, although often mentioned in subsequent Jewish writings, is here first mentioned in the Bible (see ix. 21; Luke i. 19, 26). He is an archangel, one of the seven—Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, Phanuel, &c., 'that stand in the presence of God' to bless, to intercede, and to guard. See Tobit xii. 15 and note on i. 8–10. 'The ancient Egyptian, like the modern African, made a clear distinction between God and "the gods", who were subservient to Him, and who were made by Him to assist in the work of administering heaven, earth,

man to understand the vision. So he came near 17
where I stood; and when he came, I was affrighted,
and fell upon my face: but he said unto me, Under-
stand, O son of man [a]; for the vision belongeth to the
time of the end [b]. Now as he was speaking with me, 18
I fell into a deep sleep with my face toward the
[1] Or, *where I had stood* ground [c]: but he touched me, and set me [1] upright.
And he said, Behold, I will make thee know what 19
shall be in the latter time of the indignation [d]: for it
belongeth to the appointed time of the end.

The Medo-Persian and Macedonian Empires.
viii. 20–22.

The ram which thou sawest that had the two horns, 20
they are the kings of Media and Persia. And the 21
†[2] Heb. *Javan.* rough he-goat is the king of [2] Greece [e]: and the great
horn that is between his eyes is the first king. And 22
as for that which was broken, in the place whereof
four stood up, four kingdoms shall stand up out of
the nation [f], but not with his power.

The king (Antiochus Epiphanes) who persecutes the saints, abolishes the sacrifices and profanes the Sanctuary. viii. 23–26.

And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the 23

and the Other World. The Egyptian "gods" formed a sort of court or council of the God of the Egyptians, and they are the equivalents of the archangels and the orders of the angels which we find in other systems of religion' (E. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*). According to some, these tutelary angels are the ancient 'gods of the nations' (Deut. xxix. 26), transformed into 'angels' in accordance with a consistent monotheism; according to others, either intermediate agencies by whom God ruled His universe, or personifications of abstract conceptions, e. g. the genius of a nation. See Introd., p. 124.

[a] The title so frequently used of Ezekiel (see note on Ezek. ii. 1).

[b] Cf. Amos viii. 2; Ezek. vii. 2, 3, 6; xxi. 25, 29; xxxv. 5; Hab. ii. 3. The expression, based probably upon such passages, is of frequent occurrence in this book (viii. 19; ix. 26; xi. 35, 40; xii. 4, 9), and means 'the period of Antiochus's persecution, together with the short interval which followed before his death (xi. 35, 40), that being, in the view of the author, the "end" of the present condition of things, and the divine kingdom (vii. 14, 18, 22, 27; xii. 2, 3) being established immediately afterwards' (Driver).

[c] We should say, figuratively speaking, stunned. Cf. x. 9.

[d] i. e. God's anger with the nations for their oppression of His people, of which this persecution of Antiochus is the last phase. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 64.

[e] Javan was the name by which the Greeks were known to the Hebrews, Assyrians, and Egyptians, owing to the fact that the Ionians were that branch of the Greeks which was the earliest to be civilised. They traded and had settled on the coast of Asia Minor.

[f] LXX, &c., are probably right in reading 'out of his nation', i.e. Alexander's, whose power was not seen in any of the four kingdoms which succeeded his. (See note on ver. 8. Cf. xi. 45.)

transgressors are come to the full [a], a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences[b], shall
24 stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not [1] by his own power[c]; and he shall [2] destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and do *his pleasure*: and he shall [2] destroy the mighty ones and [3] the holy people.
25 And through his policy he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and in *their* security shall he [2] destroy many[d]: he shall also stand up against the prince of princes[e];
26 but he shall be broken without hand[f]. And the vision of the evenings and mornings which hath been told is true[g]: but shut thou up the vision; for it belongeth to many days *to come*[h].

[1] Or, *with his power* † See ver. 22.
[2] Or, *corrupt*
[3] Heb. *people of the saints.*

The effect on Daniel. viii. 27.

27 And I Daniel fainted, and was sick certain days; then I rose up, and did the king's business: and I was astonished at the vision, [4] but none understood it[i].

[4] Or, *but there was none to make it understood* †

III. THE REVELATION OF THE TIME OF RESTORATION, IN WHICH IT IS EXPLAINED THAT THE SEVENTY YEARS OF JEREMIAH'S PREDICTION ARE SEVENTY WEEKS OF YEARS[k]. ix.

1) *INTRODUCTORY.* ix. 1–19.

Daniel discovers from Jeremiah that the period of desolation is to be seventy years. ix. 1–2.

9 In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes[l], which was made king over

[a] i. e. when they (either the apostate Jews or their heathen persecutors) have made full their transgression.

[b] i. e. skilled in dissimulation, wily strategy, and intrigues, of which Antiochus was master. Cf. xi. 21, 24. See note on v. 12.

[c] Not with the power that Alexander had (see margin).

[d] For his treachery to the Jews see 1 Macc. i. 29, 30, and cf. xi. 21, 24.

[e] i. e. Jehovah. Cf. verse 11; ii. 47.

[f] See note on ii. 34, 35. Antiochus died suddenly of a terrible disease in Persia, 164 B. C. (2 Macc. ix. 3–10, 28).

[g] i. e. the vision concerning the number of mornings and evenings that the trouble was to last in verse 14. A solemn assurance to the oppressed Jews that their sufferings will at length end.

[h] A remote future (cf. Ezek. xii. 27), which the literary plan of the book of course requires.

[i] Probably this means that Daniel himself did not fully understand. Cf. verse 5, and xii. 8. Others would render, 'But no one gave heed.' Cf. Isa. lvii. 1.

[k] This vision is sent to solve certain difficulties found in a study of the Scriptures. See note on verse 24.

[l] See note on v. 31. Darius was really the father of Ahasuerus (Xerxes)

the realm of the Chaldeans; in the first year of his 2
reign I Daniel understood by the books [a] the number
of the years, whereof the word of the LORD came to
Jeremiah the prophet, for the accomplishing of the
desolations of Jerusalem, even seventy years.

Daniel fasts and confesses his nation's sins. ix. 3–10.

[1] Or, *to seek after prayer &c.*

And I set my face unto the Lord God, [1] to seek by 3
prayer and supplications, with fasting, and sackcloth,
and ashes. And I prayed unto the LORD my God, 4
and made confession, and said [b], O Lord, the great
and dreadful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy
with them that love him and keep his commandments;
we have sinned, and have dealt perversely, and have 5
done wickedly, and have rebelled, even turning aside
from thy precepts and from thy judgements: neither 6
have we hearkened unto thy servants the prophets,
which spake in thy name to our kings, our princes,
and our fathers, and to all the people of the land. O 7
Lord, righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us
confusion of face, as at this day; to the men of Judah,
and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all
Israel, that are near, and that are far off, through all
the countries whither thou hast driven them, because
of their trespass that they have trespassed against
thee. O Lord, to us belongeth confusion of face [c], 8
to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, because
we have sinned against thee. To the Lord our God 9
belong mercies and forgivenesses; [2] for we have re-
belled against him; neither have we obeyed the voice 10
of the LORD our God, to walk in his laws, which he
set before us by his servants the prophets.

[2] Or, *though*

(Ezra iv. 6; Esther i. 1, &c.). From the writer's literary standpoint (the time of the Exile) the date is suitably fixed. For with the Fall of Babylon the thoughts of the Jews would naturally turn to the fulfilment of such promises as Jer. xxv. 11, 12; xxix. 10, 11; Isa. xliv. 28; xlv. 13.

[a] i. e. the holy Scriptures, which about this time must have comprised at least the Torah and the Prophets. (See Introd., p. 121.) For the author's interpretation of the seventy see note on verse 24.

[b] The whole prayer, which, like those in Ezra ix; Neh. i, ix, and especially in Baruch i. 15—iii. 18 (of which it may be an abbreviation), is a cento of earlier Bible phrases (e. g. Exod. xx. 6; Deut. vii. 9; Jer. vii. 19; Ps. xliv. 13; cxxx. 4; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15, 16), and is thought by some to be a later addition to the book (see Hastings's *D.B.* v. 714).

[c] i. e. the shame depicted upon a guilty face.

He acknowledges the justice of God's punishment.
ix. 11–14.

11 Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy law, even turning
aside, that they should not obey thy voice: therefore
hath the curse [a] been poured out upon us, and the
oath [b] that is written in the law of Moses the servant
12 of God; for we have sinned against him. And he
hath confirmed his words, which he spake against us,
and against our judges that judged us, by bringing
upon us a great evil: for under the whole heaven
hath not been done as hath been done upon Jeru-
13 salem. As it is written in the law of Moses, all this
evil is come upon us: yet have we not intreated the
favour of the LORD our God, that we should turn
from our iniquities, and [1] have discernment in thy [1] Or, *deal wisely*
14 truth. Therefore hath the LORD watched over [c] the
evil, and brought it upon us: for the LORD our God
is righteous in all his works which he doeth, and we
have not obeyed his voice.

He makes a fervent appeal for God's pity and deliverance. ix. 15–19.

15 And now, O Lord our God, that hast brought thy
people forth out of the land of Egypt with a mighty
hand, and hast gotten thee renown, as at this day;
16 we have sinned, we have done wickedly. O Lord,
according to all thy [2] righteousness [d], let thine anger [2] Heb. *righteous-nesses.*
and thy fury, I pray thee, be turned away from thy
city Jerusalem, thy holy mountain: because for our
sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem
and thy people are become a reproach to all that are
17 round about us. Now therefore, O our God, hearken
unto the prayer of thy servant, and to his supplications,
and cause thy face to shine upon thy sanctuary that
18 is desolate, for the Lord's sake. O my God, incline
thine ear, and hear; open thine eyes, and behold our
desolations, and the city which is called by thy name:
for we do not [3] present our supplications before thee [3] Heb. *cause to fall*
19 for our righteousnesses, but for thy great mercies. O
Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and See Jer. xxxvi. 7.

[a] See Lev. xxvi. 14–18; Num. v. 21, and Introd., p. 121.
[b] See Deut. xxviii. 15–68.
[c] There may be a reference here to Jer. i. 12, &c., as Daniel has been studying Jeremiah's prophecies (see ver. 2).
[d] i.e. Thy righteous acts, as in Deutero-Isaiah, acts of mercy in fulfilment of His promise (see note on Isa. xli. 2).

do; defer not; for thine own sake, O my God, because thy city and thy people are called by thy name.

(2) *THE REVELATION: THE ORACLE OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.* ix. 20–27.

Daniel's prayer is answered, and Gabriel is sent to instruct him. ix. 20–23.

20 And whiles I was speaking, and praying, and confessing my sin and the sin of my people Israel, and presenting my supplication before the LORD my God
21 for the holy mountain [a] of my God; yea, whiles I was speaking in prayer, the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, [1] being caused to fly swiftly [b], [2] touched me about the time of the evening oblation [c]. And he [3] instructed me, and talked
22 with me, and said, O Daniel, I am now come forth to
23 make thee skilful of understanding. At the beginning of thy supplications the commandment [d] went forth, and I am come to tell thee; for thou art [4] greatly beloved: therefore consider the matter, and understand the vision.

† [1] Or, *being sore wearied*
† [2] Or, *came near unto me*
† [3] Or, *made me to understand.*
† [4] Or, *very precious* Heb. *precious things.*

It would not be seventy years, but seventy 'heptads' (490 years) before the people's iniquity would be atoned for and righteousness established. ix. 24 [e].

24 Seventy weeks [f] are decreed upon thy people and

[a] i. e. Zion, the Temple-mount.

[b] The choice of renderings is difficult. If that in the margin be taken, it applies to Daniel (cf. viii. 16, 17).

[c] i. e. the meal-offering (*Minchah*). See 1 Kings xviii. 29, 36; 2 Kings xvi. 15; Ezra ix. 4, 6; Ps. cxli. 2.

[d] Lit. 'the word', i. e. the decree of verses 24–27.

[e] Few passages of Scripture have received a greater number of diverse interpretations. The attempt repeatedly made to end the seventy 'heptads' with the advent or death of Christ has never succeeded, and if some such interpretation were intended one might pertinently ask, with Farrar, (1) why do no two interpreters agree about the interpretations? and (2) why did not the apostles and evangelists refer to so decisive an evidence? All interpreters agree that the prophecy as it stands necessitates that some assumptions or other should be made, and the only question, as Dr. Driver says, is, 'What assumption is the least violent one, or most adequately meets the requirements of the case?' We venture to give the explanation, now very generally adopted by scholars, as on the whole the least unsatisfactory. Jeremiah (xxv. 11, 12) proclaimed his prophecy, concerning the seventy years' subjugation of Palestine and the rest of Western Asia by Babylon, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, i. e. 605 B. C. (xxv. 1). But from 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 21, we learn that the Jews reckoned the seventy years from the date of the fall of Jerusalem, 586 B. C. And this is probably regarded as the *terminus a quo* of the seventy 'heptads' in this passage. The first seven 'weeks' (i. e. forty-nine years, ver. 25) would therefore end with the edict of Cyrus, 538 B. C. And by the concluding 'one

upon thy holy city, [1] to finish [2] transgression [g], and [3] to make an end of sins, and to [4] make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up vision and [5] prophecy [h], and to anoint [6] the most holy [i].

[1] Or, *to restrain* [2] Or, *the transgression.* [3] Another reading is, *to seal up.* [4] Or, *purge away* [5] Heb. *prophet.* † [6] Or, *a most holy place*

week' the last seven years of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (171–164 B. C.) would be meant. The difficulty therefore lies in the intervening period, which is 367 years, and not 434 (i. e. sixty-two 'heptads') as the vision (ver. 25) sets forth. And it must be admitted that no satisfactory account can be given of this miscalculation of sixty-seven years. We have, however, to bear in mind, as Schürer has pointed out, that similar mistakes of reckoning are to be found in Josephus and other Jewish writers, particularly in Demetrius, who makes almost the same miscalculation as the writer of Daniel (In Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 21, quoted by Farrar, p. 290. See Introd., p. 119). Moreover, the Jews, who had no fixed era at all until the establishment of the Seleucid era (312 B. C.), were not provided with the necessary data for making strictly accurate chronological calculations. 'Cornill therefore adopted the only tenable theory regarding the problem; viz. that the author did not know the chronology between 537 and 312, and consequently made the period too long' (*Encycl. Britann.* vii. p. 807). The view of Keil and others that the prophecy is *typically and generally* Messianic may certainly be adopted, provided it be understood that it has not two independent fulfilments, a temporal and a Messianic, but temporal and Messianic parts. The temporal was fulfilled in the death of Antiochus, when the author thought that the Messianic age would immediately follow; but the Messianic Kingdom we believe to have been spiritually established in the Kingdom of Christ, and not immediately after the death of Antiochus as the writer expected. Besides, history is apt to repeat itself, and our Lord referred to an 'abomination that maketh desolate' (see note on xii. 11) which in His days was yet to come (Luke ii. 25, 26, 38; Matt. xxiv. 15. Cf. 2 Thess. ii). The whole question is fully and fairly discussed by Dr. Driver (pp. 143–151).

[f] i. e. 'heptads' or sevens. Jeremiah's seventy years (xxv. 11) had but an imperfect fulfilment in the restoration of the Jews; they must be understood as seventy weeks of years, i. e. 490 years. 'The seventy weeks become intelligible if we suppose that the author of Daniel combined Jer. xxv. 11; xxix. 10 with Lev. xxvi. 18–28. The seventy years of Jeremiah were to be repeated seven times, and at the end of the 490th year the long-promised deliverance might be confidently expected' (Bevan). See Introd., p. 121.

[g] So that it shall no longer spread. All these marks which are to follow the close of the 490 years belong to the Messianic age foretold by the prophets, e. g. Isa. iv. 3; xxxii. 16, 17; xxxiii. 24; liii. 11; lx. 21; Jer. xxiii. 6; Ezek. xxxvi. 25–27, &c.

[h] The vision and the prophets would be a closed book no longer needed when fulfilled (cf. Isa. viii. 16). The sealing may also suggest the confirmation by accomplishment. Cf. Jer. xxxii. 10, 11, 44; John iii. 33; vi. 27.

[i] The consecration of the most holy place in the Messianic dispensation (Ezek. xli. 3–4) is most probably meant, with a probable reference also to the altar which Antiochus had profaned. This is probably a prediction uttered before the dedication of the Temple described in 1 Macc. iv. 45–59. See Introd., p. 123, and note on viii. 14.

The 490 years divided into three smaller 'heptads' (a) 7, i.e. 49 years, (b) 62, i.e. 434 years, (c) 1, i.e. 7 years, at the end of which the persecutor's fell work would be arrested. ix. 25–27.

25 Know therefore and discern, that from the going forth of the commandment [a] to restore and to build Jerusalem unto [1]the anointed one [b], the prince, shall be [2]seven weeks [c]: and threescore and two weeks, it shall be built again, with street and moat, even in troublous times [d]. 26 And after the threescore and two weeks shall the anointed one [e] be cut off, and [3]shall have nothing [f]: and the people [g] of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and [4]his end shall be with a flood [h], and even unto the end shall be war; desolations are determined [i]. 27 And he shall make a firm covenant with many for one week [k]: and [5]for the half of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the [6]oblation to cease [l]; and [7]upon

[1] Or, *Messiah, the prince* Or, *an anointed one, a prince*

[†2] Or, *seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: it shall be &c.*

[3] Or, *there shall be none belonging to him*

[4] Or, *the end thereof*

[5] Or, *in the midst of*

[6] Or, *meal offering*

[7] Or, *upon the pinnacle of abominations* shall be *&c.*

[a] Lit. 'word', as in verse 23. The reference is not to the decree of Cyrus, but probably to the prophecies of Jeremiah, such as xxix. 10–14; xxx. 18; xxxi. 38–40.

[b] Probably Cyrus (Isa. xlv. 1–4; cf. xliv. 26, 28; xlv. 13). Some, however, think that Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, is meant, as the first high priest after the Return (Ezra iii. 2; Hag. i. 1; Zech. iii. Cf. Lev. x. 3; v. 16).

[c] i. e. from 587 B. C., just before the fall of Jerusalem, when Jeremiah uttered his prophecies (xxx—xxxi), to 538 B. C., when Cyrus captured Babylon.

[d] Better, 'And for threescore and two weeks, it (Jerusalem) shall be built again with broad place and moat (i. e. with the usual completeness of an Oriental city), but in straitness of times', referring to the feeble condition of the Jews during the Persian and early Grecian periods, from 538 to 171 B. C.

[e] Obviously not the same as in verse 25, for he lives 434 years after. The high priest Onias III, who was murdered by Andronicus (171 B. C.), is probably meant. See 2 Macc. iv. 7–9, 23–38. Cf. Dan. xi. 22.

[f] The meaning is obscure; perhaps 'left without name, family, or legitimate successor'.

[g] The Syrian army (for this use of 'people' see 2 Sam. x. 13; Ezek. xxx. 11) under Antiochus Epiphanes (see note on viii. 11), who came from Rome (171 B. C.) and devastated Jerusalem and the Temple (1 Macc. i. 31, 32, 39; iii. 45).

[h] Antiochus will be swept away in the flood of a Divine judgement, alluding to his miserable death in Persia (see note on xi. 40–45).

[i] The oppression of the Jews will continue as determined (the word repeated in ver. 27; xi. 36 was probably suggested by Isa. x. 23; xxviii. 22) by God until the end of the present dispensation, which, in the view of the writer, would be at the death of the tyrant (see note on ix. 24).

[k] Antiochus obtained the co-operation of the Hellenizing, apostate Jews, headed by the usurping high priests Jason and Menelaus, in his profane work, particularly during the first seven years (one week) of his siege (175–168 B. C.). See 1 Macc. i. 10–15; 2 Macc. iv, v.

[l] The suppression of the Tamîd and meal-offering (see notes on viii. 11; ix. 21) is meant. The three and a half years appear to date from the decree set forth some months before Dec. 168 to Dec. 25, 165 B. C., when Judas Maccabaeus had the altar reconsecrated.

the wing of abominations [a] *shall come* one that maketh desolate; and even unto the consummation, and that determined, shall *wrath* be poured out upon the [1] desolator.

[1] Or, *desolate*

4. THE REVELATION OF THE TIME AND THE END [b]. x.—xii.

(1) INTRODUCTORY TO THE REVELATION. x. 1–19.

Its time and occasion. x. 1–4.

10 In the third year of Cyrus king of Persia a thing was revealed unto Daniel, whose name was called Belteshazzar [c]; and the thing was true, even a great warfare [d]: and he understood the thing, and had
2 understanding of the vision. In those days I Daniel
3 was mourning [e] three whole weeks. I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth, neither did I anoint [f] myself at all, till three whole
4 weeks were fulfilled. And in the four and twentieth day of the first month, as I was by the side of the great river, which is [2] Hiddekel [g],

[2] That is, *Tigris*.†

A wondrous and awful messenger appears to make the revelation to Daniel. x. 5–11.

5 I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a man clothed in linen [h], whose loins were girded with pure

[a] Driver and many others slightly change the text and read 'And in its place shall be the abomination that astoundeth', i. e. instead of the legitimate sacrifice and meal-offering on the altar of burnt-offering there will be the detestable heathen altar built upon it by Antiochus, which 'will remain until the destined judgement come down upon its author'. See note on xii. 11, and Introd., p. 122.

[b] In this vision the author surveys the events connected with his nation's history from the beginning of the Persian period down to his own time. An angel who has had to contend with the 'prince' (guardian-angel) of Persia, announces that, aided by Michael the 'prince', he will again contend on behalf of Israel, first with the 'prince' of Persia, and then with the 'prince' of Greece. 'Here, even more than in the earlier vision, we are able to perceive how the account gradually becomes more definite as it approaches the latter part of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (xi. 28), and how it then (xi. 36) passes suddenly from the domain of historical facts to that of ideal expectations' (Bevan, p. 162).

[c] See note on i. 7.

[d] True is the revelation (cf. viii. 26), and the period is one of great trouble and distress (cf. Isa. xl. 2).

[e] Perhaps on account of the nation's sin (ix. 3), or anxiety concerning its future.

[f] To abstain from the use of oil was a sign of mourning. See 2 Sam. xiv. 2; Isa. lxi. 3.

[g] i. e. the Tigris. Cf. Gen. ii. 14.

[h] Like an officiating Jewish priest, except that a priest's girdle was of linen. Cf. Rev. i. 13.

gold of Uphaz[a]: his body also was like the beryl[b], 6
and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his
eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like
in colour to burnished brass, and the voice of his
words like the voice of a multitude. And I Daniel 7
alone saw the vision: for the men that were with me
saw not the vision[c]; but a great quaking fell upon
them, and they fled to hide themselves. So I was 8
left alone, and saw this great vision, and there re-
mained no strength in me: for my comeliness was
turned in me into corruption[d], and I retained no
strength. Yet heard I the voice of his words: and 9
when I heard the voice of his words, then was I fallen
into a deep sleep on my face, with my face toward
the ground[e]. And, behold, a hand touched me, 10
† [1] Or, *set me tottering upon &c.* which [1] set me upon my knees and upon the palms of
my hands. And he said unto me, O Daniel, thou 11
man greatly beloved, understand the words that I
speak unto thee, and stand upright[f]; for unto thee
am I now sent: and when he had spoken this word
unto me, I stood trembling.

The heavenly messenger explains the object of his coming.
x. 12–14.

Then said he unto me, Fear not, Daniel; for from 12
the first day that thou didst set thine heart to under-
stand, and to humble thyself before thy God, thy
words were heard: and I am come for thy words'
sake. But the prince[g] of the kingdom of Persia 13
withstood me one and twenty days; but, lo, Michael,
one of the chief princes[h], came to help me: and
[2] Or, *was not needed* I [2] remained there with the kings of Persia. Now 14
I am come to make thee understand what shall befall

[a] Uphaz probably represents Ophir. See note on Jer. x. 9.

[b] A flashing stone, described by Pliny as 'a transparent stone with a refulgence like that of gold' (Driver).

[c] Cf. Acts ix. 7.

[d] The dignity of his countenance was marred. Cf. Hab. iii. 16.

[e] Cf. viii. 18.

[f] Cf. Ezek. ii. 1.

[g] The guardian genius of Persia, with whom the speaker was in conflict. (See Isa. xxiv. 21; Ps. lxxxii; Ecclus. xvii. 17.) This is the first mention in the Old Testament of an angel presiding over a nation's destiny (see Introd., p. 124). For the origin of the idea, which is elaborated in Enoch vi–xv, see the article on Angels in *Encycl. Biblica* and Hastings's *D.B.*

[h] The guardian angel of the Jews (ver. 21; xii. 1. Cf. Rev. xii. 7). See note on viii. 16. His arrival enabled the other (Gabriel?) at length to come to Daniel.

thy people in the latter days[a]: for the vision is yet for *many* days.

Daniel in his astonishment is comforted and encouraged by the angel. x. 15–19.

15 And when he had spoken unto me according to these words, I set my face toward the ground,
16 and was dumb. And, behold, one like the similitude of the sons of men[b] touched my lips: then I opened my mouth, and spake and said unto him that stood before me, O my lord, by reason of the vision my sorrows are turned upon me, and I retain no
17 strength. For how can the servant of this my lord talk with this my lord? for as for me, straightway there remained no strength in me, neither was there
18 breath left in me. Then there touched me again one like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened
19 me. And he said, O man greatly beloved, fear not: peace be unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong. And when he spake unto me, I was strengthened, and said, Let my lord speak; for thou hast strengthened me.

(2) THE REVELATION OF THE HEAVENLY CONTEST ON ISRAEL'S BEHALF. x. 20—xi. 45.

i. *THE WRESTLING IN HIGH PLACES.* x. 20—xi. 1.

[1] Heb. *Javan.*† [2] Heb. *strength.* *eneth himself.* [3] Or, *concerning these things*

20 Then said he, Knowest thou wherefore I am come unto thee? and now will I return[c] to fight with the prince of Persia: and when I go forth, lo, the prince of
21 [1]Greece shall come. But I will tell thee that which is inscribed in the writing of truth[d]: and there is none that [2]holdeth with me [3]against these, but

[a] The vision refers to the end of the time of Antiochus's persecution.

[b] As the expression here used is equivalent to that in verse 18, where the being referred to is evidently the glorious messenger of verses 5, 6 (cf. ver. 20 with ver. 13; ver. 21 with ver. 14), it is clear that the same being is referred to throughout. The description in this and verse 18 refers to the difference as it appeared in the vision, the human similitude taking the place of his awe-inspiring majesty.

[c] He wishes to return to the celestial world not only to complete his victory over the guardian genius of Persia (see note on ver. 13) but also to contend with that of Greece, for the interests of the Jews have to be maintained against both powers in succession. He lingers, however, to enlighten Daniel as to the future.

[d] The book in which the destiny of nations is inscribed. Cf. Ps. cxxxix. 16.

Michael your prince [a]. And as for me, in the first 1
year of Darius the Mede, I stood up to confirm and
strengthen him [b].

ii. *DETAILS OF THE CONTEST ON EARTH.* xi. 2–45.

Four Persian kings. xi. 2.

And now will I shew thee the truth. Behold, there 2
shall stand up yet three kings in Persia [c]; and the
fourth shall be far richer than they all [d]: and when
he is waxed strong through his riches, [1] he shall stir up
all against the realm [e] of [2] Greece.

[1] Or, *all this shall stir up the realm*

† [2] Heb. *Javan.*

Another mighty king (Alexander) and the description of his empire. xi. 3–4.

And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with 3
great dominion, and do according to his will [f]. And 4
when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken,
and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven;
but not to his posterity [g], nor according to his domin-
ion wherewith he ruled [h]; for his kingdom shall be
plucked up, even for others beside these [i].

[a] Only Michael supports him in his struggles with the menacing angels
Persia and Greece.

[b] i. e. Michael, the 'prince' of the Jews, the implication being that after t
fall of Babylon (see note on v. 31) it was 'through this angelic intervention th
the national hostility of Persia to Israel was turned to friendliness' (Driver).

[c] To follow Cyrus, who is then supposed to be reigning (x. 1). The thr
Persian kings who followed Cyrus were Cambyses, Gaumâta (Pseudo-Smerdi
and Darius Hystaspes. But as Gaumâta reigned but a few months it is possib
that the writer disregarded him, and that by the fourth (in reality the seven
after Xerxes I) is meant Darius Codomannus, the last King of Persia, who w
defeated by Alexander at Issus and Arbela.

[d] Probably Xerxes, of great riches (Herod. iii. 96; iv. 27–26), whose striki
expedition against Greece ended in the disastrous defeat at Salamis in 480 B.
He is the Ahasuerus of Ezra and Esther. But see previous note.

[e] This clause, which is singular, should probably be translated 'he shall s
up all, even the kingdom.' The writer apparently regards the uprising of t
Grecian power as the direct result of the defeat of the Persians. In fact t
conquests of Alexander were undertaken by him with the avowed object
avenging the wrongs done to Greece by the Persians.

[f] It is implied (see previous note) that he belongs to Greece. The referer
is of course to Alexander the Great, of whom it was said by Quintus Curt
(x. v. 35), *Fortunam solus omnium mortalium in potestate habuit* (quoted
Farrar).

[g] Alexander's illegitimate son, Herakles, and posthumous son Alexan
Aegus, by Roxana, were both murdered about 310 B. C.

[h] See note on viii. 22.

[i] Besides the Diadochi, as Alexander's generals who divided his empire (
note on viii. 8) were called, there were many other petty independent dynast
in Cappadocia, Armenia, &c.

The King of the South (Ptolemy Lagi) and a still mightier prince (Seleucus Nicator) [a]. xi. 5.

5 And the king of the south [b] [1] shall be strong, and *one* of his princes [c]; and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion.

[1] Or, *shall be strong; but* one *of his princes shall be &c.*†

Failure of a matrimonial alliance between the King of the South (Ptolemy Philadelphus) and the King of the North (Antiochus Theos). xi. 6.

6 And at the end of years [d] they shall join themselves together; and the daughter of the king of the south shall come to the king of the north to make [2] an agreement [e]: but she shall not retain the strength of her arm [f]; neither shall he stand [g], nor his arm; but she shall be given up [h], and they that brought her [i], and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in those times [k].

[2] Or, *equitable conditions*

An avenger (Ptolemy Euergetes) wreaks vengeance on the King of the North (Seleucus Callinicus). xi. 7–9.

7 But out of a shoot from her roots [l] shall one stand up in his [3] place [m], which shall come [4] unto the army [n],

[3] Or, *office*
[4] Or, *against*

[a] The Ptolemies and the Seleucidae are alone of the Diadochi referred to by the writer because Palestine came within their sphere of contention, and those rulers who were of no importance to the Jews are disregarded by him.

[b] Ptolemy Lagi, the first Greek King of Egypt (305–285 B. C.) and founder of the Ptolemies. 'The gentlest of the military followers of Alexander' (Grätz).

[c] Seleucus Nicator (312–280 B. C.), the first Greek King of Syria, who originally served under Ptolemy Lagi in Alexander's army. He was the greatest of Alexander's successors, and founded Antioch (300 B. C.). His dominions were much more extensive than those of Ptolemy, and he gave the name Seleucidae both to the dynasty and the chronological era (312 B. C.). See 1 Macc. i. 10.

[d] Thirty-one years after the death of Seleucus Nicator, the reign of Antiochus I (Soter, 280–261 B. C.) being disregarded by the writer.

[e] This was that Antiochus II (Theos, 261–246 B. C.) should divorce his wife and half-sister Laodice, disinherit her children, and bequeath the kingdom to the expected issue of his marriage with Berenice (249), the daughter of Ptolemy II (Philadelphus, 285–247 B. C.), so that Syria might thereby become united with Egypt. See note on ii. 43.

[f] Two years later, on the death of Ptolemy II (247), Antiochus II divorced Berenice and took Laodice back.

[g] Antiochus II was murdered by Laodice.

[h] Berenice and her child were murdered by Laodice and her son Seleucus Callinicus.

[i] Her escort, who also perished, may be meant.

[k] Her father Ptolemy II and her husband Antiochus II are probably intended, but the text is probably corrupt.

[l] Ptolemy II, his father.

[m] Berenice's brother, Ptolemy III (Euergetes I, 247–222 B. C.), avenges her murder.

[n] To lead it in person against Syria.

and shall enter into the fortress [a] of the king of the north [b], and shall deal against them, and shall
[1] Or, *princes* prevail: and also their gods [c], with their [1] molten 8
images, *and* with their goodly vessels of silver and of gold, shall he carry captive into Egypt; and he shall
[2] Or, *continue more years than &c.* [2] refrain [d] some years from the king of the north.
And he [e] shall come into the realm of the king of 9
the south, but he shall return into his own land.

A campaign between the two peoples ends in a fruitless victory over the North. xi. 10–12.

And his sons [f] shall war, and shall assemble a multi- 10
[3] Or, *and he* tude of great forces, [3] which shall come on, and
[4] Or, *he* overflow, and pass through [g]: and [4] they shall return
and war, even to his fortress [h]. And the king of the 11
south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude [i], and the multitude shall be given into his hand. And the 12
[5] Or, *be carried away* multitude shall be [5] lifted up, and his heart shall be exalted: and he shall cast down tens of thousands [k], but he shall not prevail [l].

The King of the North (Antiochus the Great) joins with many other peoples, including the Jews, in making a futile attack on Egypt. xi. 13–14.

And the king of the north shall return, and shall set 13

[a] Seleucia, the port of Antioch.

[b] Seleucus II (Callinicus, 246–226 B. C.).

[c] Among them were those whom Cambyses had taken from Egypt 280 years before. In consequence of this Ptolemy III was called Euergetes, benefactor.

[d] He will not attack.

[e] i. e. the King of the North (Seleucus II), who unsuccessfully invaded Egypt in 242 B. C.

[f] Seleucus II was succeeded by his two sons, Seleucus III (Ceraunos, 226–223 B. C.), who was killed in battle within two years, and Antiochus III (the Great, 223–187 B. C.). This verse describes the attempt of the latter to attack Egypt.

[g] Like a flood of waters inundating the land. Cf. Isa. viii. 8.

[h] Probably Gaza, 'the outpost of Africa, the door of Asia' (G. A. Smith).

[i] The meaning is very uncertain. Driver prefers 'and he (Antiochus III) will raise a great army, but it will be given into his (Ptolemy IV's) hands, and the multitude (the army of Antiochus) shall be carried away, and his (Ptolemy's) heart shall be exalted, i. e. elated with the victory'. Ptolemy IV (Philopator, 222–205 B. C.) succeeded Ptolemy III.

[k] At the battle of Raphia, south-west of Gaza (an historic battlefield between Asia and Africa), where Antiochus was completely routed by Ptolemy (217 B. C.).

[l] No permanent advantage was gained by Ptolemy IV, who was lethargic and dissipated. *Spoliasset regno Antiochum si fortunam virtute iuvisset* (Justin xxx. 1, quoted by Farrar).

forth a multitude greater than the former; and he shall come on at the end of the times, *even* [1] *of* years [a], [1] Or, for
14 with a great army and with much substance. And in those times there shall many [b] stand up against the king of the south: also the children of the violent [c] among thy people shall lift themselves up to establish the vision [d]; but they shall fall.

The King of the North (Antiochus the Great), after successes in Palestine and Asia and an attempted alliance by marriage with the King of the South (Ptolemy Epiphanes), would be defeated by a Prince (Scipio) and ignominiously fall. xi. 15–19.

15 So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a [2] Or, *the fenced cities*
mount [e], and take [2] a well fenced city [f]: and the arms of the south shall not withstand [g], neither his chosen [3] According to the ancient versions, *and shall make equitable conditions with him: and he shall give &c.* †
people [h], neither shall there be any strength to with-
16 stand. But he that cometh against him [i] shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land [k], and in his hand shall be destruction.
17 And he shall set his face [l] to come with the strength of his whole kingdom, [3] and [4] upright ones with him [m]; and he shall [4] Or, *equitable conditions* †
do *his pleasure*: and he shall give him the daughter of

[a] Twelve years later Ptolemy IV died (205 B. C.), leaving a little son, Ptolemy V (Epiphanes, 205–182 B. C.). Antiochus III, after his great successes in the East, so far as India, amassed a greater army than before to attack Egypt.

[b] Antiochus had Philip III, King of Macedon, and rebellious subject-princes of Ptolemy as allies.

[c] Apparently some Hellenizing Jews who sided with Antiochus, and prevailed upon their people to exchange the sovereignty of the Ptolemies for that of the Seleucidae (Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. iii. 3, 4).

[d] The reference may possibly be to Isaiah xix, which these Jews thought was being fulfilled, but is more probably to the establishment of the Seleucid power over Palestine, thereby fulfilling the present vision.

[e] See note on Jer. xxxii. 24.

[f] Sidon, where Scopas, a general of Ptolemy V, was besieged and forced to surrender, 198 B. C.

[g] An allusion probably to the battle of Panium (near the sources of the Jordan), 199 B. C., which, by the defeat of Ptolemy, resulted in the Jews transferring their allegiance from the Egyptian kings (to whom they had remained loyal since the battle of Issus, 301 B. C.) to the Seleucidae.

[h] Warriors. See Exod. xv. 4.

[i] Antiochus III against Ptolemy V.

[k] i. e. Palestine (see ver. 41; viii. 9), 'possessed of which Antiochus III will "stand" in it, menacing Egypt with ruin' (Driver).

[l] i. e. shall resolutely determine. Cf. Ezek. iv. 7, &c.

[m] The text has no meaning. Antiochus III attempted to make 'equitable conditions' (see marg. 3), by which he hoped to possess Egypt.

† [1] Or, *to destroy it*
† [2] Or, *it*
[3] Or, *coast-lands*
[4] Or, *captain*

women [a], [1] to corrupt her [b]; but [2] she shall not stand, neither be for him [c]. After this shall he turn his 18
face unto the [3] isles [d], and shall take many: but a [4] prince [e] shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease [f]; yea, moreover, he shall cause his reproach to turn upon him [g]. Then he shall turn his face 19
toward the fortresses of his own land [h]: but he shall stumble and fall, and shall not be found [i].

His successor (Seleucus IV, Philopator, 187–175 B. C.) is murdered. xi. 20.

[5] Or, *office*
[6] Heb. *broken.*

Then shall stand up in his [5] place one that shall 20
cause an exactor [k] to pass through the glory of the kingdom [l]: but within few days he shall be [6] destroyed, neither in anger [m], nor in battle.

The contemptible vileness and deceit of the King of the North's (Seleucus IV's) successor (Antiochus Epiphanes). xi. 21–24.

And in his [5] place shall stand up a contemptible 21
person [n], to whom they had not given the honour of the kingdom [o]: but he shall come in time of security [p], and shall obtain the kingdom by flatteries. And with 22
the arms of a flood shall they [q] be swept away from

[a] Antiochus III gave his daughter Cleopatra (from whom all Egyptian Cleopatras have taken their name) in marriage to Ptolemy V (see note on ii. 43).
[b] i. e. Egypt, his real motive being the ultimate overthrow of that kingdom.
[c] i. e. his plan will not succeed, nor be for his advantage.
[d] The coasts of Asia Minor and the isles of Greece.
[e] The Roman general Scipio at the battle of Magnesia, near Smyrna, 190 B. C.
[f] His insolent defiance of the Romans, when he told the Roman ambassadors (196 B. C.) that they had no more right to interfere with Asiatic affairs than he had to meddle with those of Rome.
[g] His army of 80,000 men suffered a severe defeat, and he was compelled to abandon all attempt to obtain European dominion. 'Never perhaps did a great power fall so rapidly, so thoroughly, so ignominiously as the Kingdom of the Seleucidae under this Antiochus the Great' (Mommsen, quoted by Driver).
[h] i. e. he will withdraw to Syria.
[i] An allusion to his assassination while plundering the temple of Bel at Elymais, in Persia.
[k] Heliodorus, his treasurer, is commanded to take possession of the treasures in the Temple at Jerusalem (2 Macc. iii. 7 ff.).
[l] Of the Seleucid kingdom, i. e. Palestine. See verse 16. Cf. Isa. xiii. 19.
[m] Better perhaps, 'not openly'. Probably an allusion to the poisoning of Seleucus IV (Philopater, 187–175 B. C.) by his treasurer, Heliodorus.
[n] Antiochus IV (Epiphanes, 175–164 B. C.), the second son of Antiochus the Great.
[o] Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV, then a hostage at Rome, was the lawful heir.
[p] i. e. by surprise (ver. 24. Cf. viii. 25).
[q] Those who opposed Antiochus Epiphanes.

before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince
23 of [1] the covenant [a]. And after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully [b]: for he shall come up,
24 and shall become strong, with a small people [c]. In time of security shall he come even upon the fattest places of the province [d]; and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers; he shall scatter among them prey, and spoil, and substance [e]: yea, he shall devise his devices against the strong holds, even for a time [f].

[1] Or, his *covenant*

His attacks upon the King of the South (Ptolemy Philometor) and upon the holy Covenant. xi. 25–30a.

25 And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army; and the king of the south [g] shall war in battle with an exceeding great and mighty army: but he shall not
26 stand, for they shall devise devices against him. Yea, they that eat of his [2] meat shall [3] destroy him, and his army shall overflow: and many shall fall down slain.
27 And as for both these kings, their hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table [h]: but it shall not prosper; for yet the end shall be at
28 the time appointed. Then shall he return into his land with great substance; and his heart *shall be* against the holy covenant [i]; and he shall do *his*

[2] Or, *dainties*
[3] Heb. *break.*

[a] Probably the high-priest Onias III, who was deposed by Antiochus (175 B. C.) in favour of his brother the apostate, Jason. See note on ix. 26.

[b] The allusion is obscure. It may be a reference to the deceitful way in which Antiochus treated some allies, or to the intrigue by which Jason was supplanted by Menelaus (2 Macc. iv. 23–26).

[c] Though at first his adherents were few and insignificant, he would gradually creep into power.

[d] The reference is often understood to be to his descent upon the rich tracts of Coele-Syria, Palestine, or even Lower Egypt, but the words 'among them' (see next note) seem to forbid this interpretation. We should probably translate, 'and with the mighty men (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 31; Isa. x. 16) of the province'.

[e] Lavishing his extensive booty upon his followers in a way in which none of his predecessors had done. Cf. 1 Macc. iii. 27–30.

[f] i. e. shall plot to seize fortified places in Egypt so long as God permitted. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 19.

[g] Ptolemy VII (Philometor, 182–146 B. C.), who failed through the treachery of his own courtiers (170 B. C.), and was deposed for some years in favour of his brother, Euergetes II.

[h] The reference is to Antiochus's second Egyptian campaign, undertaken ostensibly in favour of the deposed Philometor, who, however, soon discovered the hollowness of Antiochus's professions of friendship and made peace with his brother, and they united against the common foe.

[i] Antiochus, while in Egypt, hearing that Menelaus was besieging Jerusalem, came against it, massacred many Jews, sold many more as slaves, and defiled and robbed the Temple (1 Macc. i. 20–28; 2 Macc. v. 5–21).

pleasure [a], and return to his own land. At the time 29
appointed [b] he shall return, and come into the south;
but it shall not be in the latter time as it was in the
former [c]. For ships of Kittim [d] shall come against 30
him; therefore he shall be grieved [e], and shall return,
and have indignation against the holy covenant, and
shall do *his pleasure*:

His treatment of God's people, their Sanctuary and their rites. xi. 30b–39.

He shall even return [f], and have regard unto them
that forsake the holy covenant [g]. And arms [h] shall 31
stand on his part, and they shall profane the sanctuary,
even the fortress [i], and shall take away the continual
burnt offering [k], and they shall set up the abomination
that maketh desolate [l]. And such as do wickedly 32
against the covenant [m] shall he [1] pervert by flatteries:
but the people that know their God shall be strong,
and do *exploits* [n]. And [2] they that be wise among the 33
people shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the
sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil, *many*
days [o]. Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen 34
with a little help [p]: but many shall join themselves

[1] Heb. *make profane.*
[2] Or, *the teachers of the people*

[a] He will vent his wrath upon the Jews (1 Macc. i. 29–64).
[b] i. e. by God, namely 168 B. C.
[c] He shall not repeat his former success.
[d] Strictly ships of Cyprus, but here it refers to a Roman fleet (LXX reads 'Romans'). The Romans gave peremptory orders to Antiochus to refrain from attacking the Ptolemies.
[e] Better, 'cowed' (so Gesenius, &c.). When Antiochus was about to consider whether he would evacuate Egypt, Popillius simply drew a circle in the sand around the king with his stick and forbade him to move from it until he had agreed to obey the Roman order, which was done (Livy, xlv. 12; Polybius, xxix. 11, &c.).
[f] To Antioch, his home, where he would plan further operations against the Jews.
[g] He favoured the Hellenizing Jews, who, with the apostate Jason at their head, co-operated with him. See 1 Macc. i. 11–15; 2 Macc. iv. 4–17; cf. ix. 27.
[h] Cf. ver. 6. It here means that forces will be organised.
[i] The Temple at Jerusalem was fortified at this time (1 Macc. i. 29–37; iv. 7; 2 Macc. v. 24).
[k] See note on viii. 11; ix. 27; cf. 1 Macc. i. 41–53.
[l] See notes on ix. 27 and xii. 11, and Introd., p. 123.
[m] i. e. the apostate Jews. Cf. 1 Macc. ii. 18.
[n] Many Jews bravely resisted even to death (1 Macc. i. 62–64).
[o] i. e. till the famous stand made by the Maccabees.
[p] Though at first many should fall, the party would begin to receive a little help. The reference is to the Chasidîm (the Pious; the ordinary word for 'saints' in the Psalms, e. g. Ps. xxx. 4; xxxi. 23; xxxvii. 28; cxlviii. 14; cxlix. 1, &c.), who, under Mattathias and subsequently his son, Judas Maccabaeus, bound themselves together to maintain the Mosaic law, and championed the national cause (1 Macc. ii—iv). See note on xii. 13.

35 unto them with flatteries [a]. And some of [1] them that be wise shall fall [b], to refine them, and to purify, and to make them white, even to the time of the end [c]: because it is yet for the time appointed. And the king shall do according to his will [d]; and he [e] shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god [f], and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods [g]: and he shall prosper till the indignation [h] be accomplished; for that which is determined shall be done [i]. Neither shall he regard the gods of his fathers [k], nor the desire of women [l], nor regard any god [m]: for he shall magnify himself above all. But in his [2] place shall he honour the god of fortresses [n]: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things. And he shall deal with the strongest fortresses by the help of a strange god [o]; [3] whosoever acknowledgeth *him* he will increase with glory [p]: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for a price [q].

[1] Or, *the teachers*

[2] Or, *office*

[3] Or, *whom he shall acknowledge* and *increase with glory* or, *shall increase glory*

[a] i. e. there shall be many insincere adherents.

[b] The martyrdom of such leaders as Eleazar, the aged scribe (2 Macc. vi. 18–31), would test and confirm the devotion of their followers. For the language cf. xii. 10.

[c] See note on viii. 17.

[d] Like Alexander (viii. 4; xi. 3) and Antiochus III (xi. 16).

[e] Many of the older expositors held that here the description passes from that of Antiochus Epiphanes to the future Antichrist. But as the description is quite continuous and without the slightest hint of any change of subject, such an interpretation is untenable. At the same time we may regard Antiochus as in some sense a prototype of Antichrist. For it is evident that the descriptions of the latter in 2 Thess. ii. 3–10 and Rev. xiii. 1–8 have been largely taken from this passage.

[f] On his coins his head appears with stars or diadems signifying divine rank, and the words 'King Antiochus God manifest.' See note on vii. 8.

[g] i. e. Jehovah. Cf. ii. 47.

[h] That of God against Israel. See viii. 19; cf. Isa. x. 25.

[i] See ix. 27.

[k] Antiochus honoured the Greek Zeus Olympios more than the Syrian gods. He built a temple to Zeus at Daphne, near Antioch.

[l] Probably the Syrian and Phoenician god Tammuz (the Greek Adonis), whose devotees were especially women. See note on Ezek. viii. 14.

[m] He was as ready to pillage temples as to lavish wealth upon them. The reference is to the baffled attempt to plunder a temple at Elymais (1 Macc. vi. 1–3).

[n] Probably Zeus Olympios, who is further alluded to in this verse.

[o] By changing a single vowel-point Bevan and others render, 'And he shall procure for the fortresses of strongholds the people of a foreign god', supposing the reference to be to the heathen soldiers and colonists settled by Antiochus in the citadel in Jerusalem and other parts of Judah. 1 Macc. i. 33; iii. 36, 45 (Driver).

[p] To these heathen he will give wealth, honour, and land. See 1 Macc. iii. 36.

[q] Offices and estates will be disposed of for bribery.

His final conquest and spoiling of the King of the South (Ptolemy Philometor) and death [a]. xi. 40–45.

40 And at the time of the end [b] shall the king of the south [c] [1] contend with him: and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind [d], with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass through [e]. 41 He shall enter also into the glorious land [f], and many *countries* shall be overthrown: but these shall be delivered out of his hand, Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. 42 He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries: and the land of Egypt shall not escape. 43 But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Libyans and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps [g]. 44 But tidings out of the east and out of the north [h] shall trouble him: and he shall go forth with great fury to destroy and [2] utterly to make away many. 45 And he shall plant the tents of his palace [i] [3] between the sea and the glorious holy mountain [k]; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.

[1] Heb. *push at.*

[2] Heb. *to devote many.*

[3] Or, *between the seas at*

(3) THE ADVENT OF THE MESSIANIC AGE. xii. 1–4.

Great tribulation and deliverance for the Jews. xii. 1.

12 And at that time [l] shall Michael stand up, the great

[a] The predictions of this paragraph were not actually fulfilled (see note on ch. x—xii, p. 177). Antiochus does not appear to have again invaded, still less to have spoiled, Egypt, and he died at Tabae in Persia, his last expeditions being in Parthia and Armenia. On the other hand the writer omits the splendid achievements of Judas Maccabaeus, as for instance, his defeat of Lysias in 1 Macc. iv. 1–44 (see Introd., p. 121). It is therefore clear that we have here a description rather of ideal expectations than of historic fact. See p. 119, note 2.

[b] This means *after* the period referred to in verse 35, viz. the close of the career of Antiochus.

[c] Ptolemy Philometor.

[d] Cf. Hab. iii. 14.

[e] As an inundation. Cf. verse 10.

[f] Palestine, as in verse 16.

[g] i. e. assisting the conqueror. Libya was on the west, and Ethiopia on the south of Egypt. Cf. Nah. iii. 9.

[h] i. e. in his Asiatic dominions.

[i] 'The large and sumptuous tent, or collection of tents, which would form naturally the head-quarters of an oriental king' (Driver). See viii. 1.

[k] Between the Mediterranean (cf. Judg. v. 17; Deut. xxxiii. 19) and Mount Zion (Ps. ii. 6). But in point of fact Antiochus did not die in Palestine. See note on verses 40–45.

[l] i. e. of the death of Antiochus (164 B. C.). See note on xi. 40–45.

prince which standeth for the children of thy people [a]:
and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never
was since there was a nation even to that same time:
and at that time thy people shall be delivered [b], every
one that shall be found written in the book [c].

The resurrection followed by the glorification of the righteous. xii. 2–3.

2 And many [d] of them that sleep in the dust of the
earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some
3 to shame and everlasting [1] contempt. And [2] they that
be wise [e] shall shine as the brightness of the firma-
ment; and they that turn many to righteousness [f] as
the stars for ever and ever.

[1] Or, *abhorrence*
[2] Or, *the teachers*

Closing injunction to Daniel. xii. 4.

4 But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal
the book, even to the time of the end [g]: many shall
run to and fro, and knowledge [h] shall be increased.

[a] See note on x. 13. Israel's guardian angel intervenes at this crisis.

[b] Cf. Jer. xxx. 5–11.

[c] 'The register of the citizens of the Messianic King' (Hitzig) kept by God (see Ps. lxix. 28; Exod. xxxii. 33; Mal. iii. 16. Cf. Phil. iv. 3; Rev. iii. 5; xiii. 8; xvii. 8; xx. 12, 15; xxi. 27), including both those who enter it while living and those (verse 2) who enter it after their resurrection' (Driver). See note on Mal. iii. 16. Cf. vii. 10; Isa. iv. 3. The figure is derived from the burgess rolls, in which every qualified citizen's name was to be found. Cf. Neh. vii. 64.

[d] The resurrection is not universal, but it includes both the good and the evil. This is one of the few traces of *individual immortality* in the canonical books of the Old Testament. Cf. Job xix. 26–27, and see notes on Isa. xxvi. 19; Ezek. xxxvi. 1–14; and Gen. Introd. vol. i. p. xxvii. The doctrine of a resurrection 'first assumed definite form, apparently, under the impulse of the idea that those who had suffered martyrdom for the Law were worthy to share in the future glories of Israel' (Oesterley and Box, *Religion of the Synagogue*, p. 224).

[e] Those who had been the true leaders of the Jews in the recent troubles. See xi. 33, 35. Cf. Matt. xiii. 43.

[f] Cf. Isa. liii. 11.

[g] i. e. the time of the persecution as looked at years before from Babylon, where, according to the writer's literary standpoint, Daniel was in exile.

[h] We should probably read 'evil', or 'evils', either in the sense of calamity or moral evil. LXX reads, 'and the earth shall be filled with iniquity'. The probable meaning of the whole verse is, 'The revelation must remain hidden, because a long period of confusion and calamity will ensue between Daniel's days and 'the time of the end'. See note on viii. 17, and Introd. p. 120.

(4) THE TIME WHEN THE REVELATION WOULD BE FULFILLED. xii. 5–13.

The duration of the troubles. xii. 5–7.

Then I Daniel looked, and, behold, there stood 5
other two [a], the one on the brink of the river on this
side, and the other on the brink of the river on that
side. And one said to the man clothed in linen, 6
which was above the waters of the river, How long
shall it be to the end of these wonders [b]? And I 7
heard the man clothed in linen, which was above
the waters of the river, when he held up his
right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and
sware by him that liveth for ever that it shall be for
a time, times, and an half [c]; and when they have
made an end of breaking in pieces the power of the
holy people, all these things shall be finished [d].

Its full understanding is reserved for the wise among those who shall be alive at the end of the time. xii. 8–10.

And I heard, but I understood not: then said I, 8
[1] Or, *latter end* O my lord, what shall be the [1] issue [e] of these things?
And he said, Go thy way [f], Daniel: for the words are 9
shut up and sealed till the time of the end. Many 10
shall purify themselves, and make themselves white,
and be refined [g]; but the wicked shall do wickedly;
[2] Or, *the teachers* and none of the wicked shall understand [h]: but [2] they
that be wise shall understand.

The happy lot of those who patiently wait for deliverance. xii. 11–12.

And from the time that the continual *burnt offering* 11
shall be taken away [i], and the abomination that

[a] In addition to the celestial visitor described in x. 5–6 (cf. ver. 6).
[b] i. e. the wondrous persecutions, &c., described in the last chapter (cf. viii. 24).
[c] i. e. three years and a half. See notes on vii. 25; ix. 27.
[d] See note on verse 6.
[e] i. e. 'what will be the closing stage of the "wonders" or extraordinary sufferings (ver. 6) which may serve as a sign that the actual end is not far off?' (Driver).
[f] The meaning is 'Do not trouble to inquire further; they are not intended for you (in your exile at Babylon), but for those who shall live in the "end"' i. e. of the persecution of Antiochus. See verse 4.
[g] i. e. by their sufferings. Cf. xi. 35. The martyrs of the time are referred to.
[h] See xi. 33; xii. 3. [i] See notes on viii. 11; ix. 27.

maketh desolate [a] set up, there shall be a thousand
12 two hundred and ninety days [b]. Blessed is he that
waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred
and five and thirty days [c].

And this happiness awaits the aged prophet in the resurrection. xii. 13.

13 But go thou thy way till the end be: for thou shalt
rest [d], and shalt stand in thy lot, at the end of the days.

[a] It is thought that here there is a contemptuous allusion to Baal of heaven, a title often found in Phoenicia and Syria, and the Semitic equivalent of the Greek Zeus (2 Macc. vi. 2) 'the abomination' being the altar and image (?) of Zeus (Baal), and 'desolate' (*shomēm*) being a punning variation of heaven (*shāmaim*) (Hastings's *D.B.* i. p. 12). In Mark xiii. 14; Matt. xxiv. 15 our Lord adopts the phrase in predicting the capture of the holy city by the Romans. See Introd., p. 123.

[b] i. e. from Chisleu (Nov.–Dec.) 168 B. C. (1 Macc. i. 54), when the idolatrous worship was set up in the Temple. These would end therefore in June, 164 B. C., when Antiochus may have died, or was expected by the writer to die. But the exact date of his death is unknown. And 'as the author is here writing of the actual future no exact correspondence of these numbers with historical dates is to be looked for' (Dummelow's *One Volume Commentary*, p. 544). See Introd., pp. 121, 122.

[c] Happy is he who waits (cf. Isa. xxx. 18; lxiv. 4), not giving up his trust in Jehovah, for 45 days beyond the 1,290 days mentioned in verse 11. The writer probably means that the deliverance would not be felt by the Jews at the precise moment of Antiochus's death (see note on ver. 11), but only after a further short time had elapsed. For the varying lengths of time in the book see note on viii. 14.

[d] i. e. in thy grave (Job iii. 17; Isa. lvii. 2), but Daniel shall rise again to receive the reward (see ver. 3) allotted to him at the end of the Seleucid tyranny (see ver. 1). It was an old country priest, Mattathias, head of the house of Asmon, who had struck the first blow. Indignant with a Jew whom he saw offering a heathen sacrifice, he struck him down together with the Syrian officer who was with him, and then with his five sons raised the standard of revolt. After his death in 166 B. C. his son Judas headed the movement, and winning battle after battle, he, with his brothers who succeeded him, delivered their country from the Syrian yoke.

A SUPPLEMENTARY ESSAY ON THE CHARACTER AND PRESENT VALUE OF THE PROPHETS' TEACHING[1].

The growth and development of the Hebrew religion.

It would not be too much to say that the thorough and scholarly study of the Old Testament which has characterised the last hundred, and especially the last fifty years, has entirely revolutionised our whole conception of the history of the growth and development of the Jewish religion. Instead of being a direct revelation not merely of a spiritual monotheism, but even of a Trinitarian theology, from the very first[2], we now know it to be the evolution of the former, out of a purely local and more or less idolatrous religion[3]. Jehovah, at first a purely national, perhaps merely a tribal God who could only hold relations with an Israelite in his own country[4], becomes the LORD of heaven and earth, whom all nations shall worship[5].

The Prophets' great influence.

It may not be altogether true to say that the religion of Israel, in its more developed form, was the creation of the prophets, if we mean those prophets whose writings have been preserved[6]. But this, at any rate, we may say, that their books helped to make more real and vivid the traditional teaching which they had received, and to emphasise, develop, and enlarge it both on its religious and moral sides. As teachers of national righteousness

[1] The origin and nature of the Prophets' calling and mission were dealt with in vol. i. pp. ix–xxviii.

[2] Even our lectionary, which is scarcely more than forty years old, appoints Gen. xviii for Trinity Sunday evening, thereby giving the unavoidable impression that Abraham entertained the three Persons of the Holy Trinity.

[3] In Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites* is described the old traditional religion which lies behind Judaism, the religion of Semitic peoples, of which the Hebrews were but one race, holding religious conceptions and usages in common with the whole group of kindred peoples. This was henotheism, the belief in a special supreme God for each race, nation, or clan.

[4] See 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, and note on Jonah i. 3. Cf. Judges xi. 23, 24; Ruth i. 16.

[5] Zeph. ii. 11; Isa. lxvi. 23; Zech. viii. 22, 23; Mal. i. 11.

[6] It should, of course, be realised that by far the larger part of the Old Testament was written after this evolution had, to a great extent, taken place. (For the place occupied by Revelation in this evolution see vol. i. p. xxviii.) There was, at any rate, a 'definite basis of ethical Mosaic religion to which the prophets of the eighth century B. C. appealed, and apart from which their denunciations become meaningless. To this early standard of life and practice Ephraim was faithless in the days of Hosea, and Judah in the time of Isaiah turned a deaf ear' (*Encycl. Britann.* xiii. p. 179).

they became potentially at least, and to some extent in reality, the great spiritual force of their time[1], and have become—again we are bound to add, to a large extent potentially—a great spiritual force in all ages,

> Better teaching
> The solid rules of civil government,
> In their majestic unaffected style,
> Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
> In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
> What makes a nation happy and keeps it so,
> What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat.[2]

The supporters of liberty and authority.

To their own people they were, under God, to a great extent, the source of light and the soul of progress. They emphasized the importance of the two principles, of liberty and of order, on which, in their proper co-ordination, human advance is alone possible. The prophet was the champion of freedom, for had not God 'called His son out of Egypt' and given him 'the glorious land' where he was to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke? Did not God restore him, too, from his exile by the waters of Babylon, binding up the broken-hearted and proclaiming liberty to the captives? The promise to the restored nation was, conditioned as are all such Divine promises, *I will also make thy officers peace, and thine exactors righteousness. Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, desolation nor destruction within thy borders.*[3]

The prophet was also the supporter of lawful authority[4], not indeed of the coercive power which compels and calls forth fear, but of the law's own intrinsic truth and beauty as it lies at the base of the whole moral order of society and persuades to a loving obedience. Hence he promoted justice and mercy between men[5]; and loudly protested against oppression and violence.[6] He scourged the pride of rulers[7], and shamed the frivolity of women.[8] Nor did he hesitate to denounce his woes against greed and rapacity[9], revelling and drunkenness[10]; against the scorn of truth

[1] See J. S. Mill, quoted vol. i. p. xi.
[2] Milton, *Paradise Regained*, Book iv.
[3] Isa. lx. 17, 18.
[4] 'Whether in the ethical or the physical sphere we find their conception of Him to be that of *Mishpat* (judgement); according to Isaiah (xxx. 18, &c.) He is *El Mishpat*, the God who works by principle and law.' (G. A. Smith, *Modern Criticism and Preaching of O. T.*, p. 278.)
[5] Amos v. 24; Mic. vi. 8.
[6] Amos iii. 10; Mic. iii. 3; Isa. iii. 14, 15.
[7] Zeph. iii. 11; Hab. ii. 4.
[8] Isa. iii. 16–24; xxxii. 9–11.
[9] Isa. v. 8; Nahum iii. 1; Hab. ii. 5–9.
[10] Amos vi. 3–6; Hos. iv. 11; vii. 5; Isa. v. 11, 12.

and the denial of goodness[1]. He insisted that truth and righteousness must, in the end, triumph over man's selfish passions[2], and taught his people that the secret of their strength was not to be sought in material might and wealth[3], but in their reliance upon the force of spirit[4]; and, above all, in their devotion to the Lord Jehovah who was their everlasting strength[5]. Among those who gave way to unbelieving despair[6] or who built their hopes upon fond and foolish illusions[7] his outlook remained sane and sober, sure and steadfast[8]. More than this, we find him claiming the whole world as God's field[9], in which the wheat of justice and mercy must be sown[10], and testifying that all parts of it, whether willingly or unwillingly[11], would be found working out the glorious aim of the Eternal God[12]; who

> Whether man fails or succeeds,
> Builds slowly, solemnly up
> From our broken day and deeds,
> The infinite purpose of time.

Their true and fearless patriotism.

'It was', it has been finely said[13], 'the prophet's function to stand up in the name of the King of kings before the earthly sovereign who was His vicegerent. It was for him to shew how sacred the king's authority was as the Lord's anointed, sacred yet limited by the commandments of God, by the eternal laws of truth and mercy. It was his to rebuke the self-will of the conqueror in the hour of his victory, and to forbid the outburst of civil war in the face of armies marshalled for the conflict. . . . It was his to declare the judgement of innocent blood, whether to a great servant of God in the hour of his deadly sin, or to a king who sold himself to work idolatry and iniquity at the bidding of his pride.'

Nor was his mission to the people fulfilled with less faithful courage. He rose up in time of outward prosperity and peace to call attention to the secret enormities which honeycombed the

[1] Isa. v. 20. [2] Isa. xxxiii. 15, 16. [3] Isa. ii. 7; Obad. 3.
[4] Zech. iv. 6; Isa. xxx. 15. [5] Isa. xvii. 10; xxvi. 4; Mic. vii. 7.
[6] Jer. viii. 12. [7] Isa. xxix. 15. [8] Isa. vii. 4–9; Jer. xxi. 8, 9.
[9] Isa. xi. 9, 10; Mic. iv. 1–5.
[10] Isa. xlii. 4; xlv. 22–24; li. 4; Jer. iii. 17.
[11] Isa. x. 5, 12; xix. 24, 25.
[12] 'This noble conception of Israel's great destiny is conveyed in Isa. xlix. 6 in words [following Dillmann's construction of them] which may be regarded as perhaps the noblest utterance in Hebrew prophecy; "*To establish the tribes of Jacob and bring back the preserved of Israel is less important than being My servant. Yea, I will make you a light to the Gentiles, that My salvation may be unto the end of the earth*"' (Whitehouse, *Encycl. Britann.* xiii. p. 184).
[13] Dr. Barry, A sermon preached in Westminster Abbey, Feb. 10, 1883.

national life[1], and—more difficult still—to bear witness to the righteousness of the scourge which the nation's enemy was destined to inflict[2]. Does the world know any higher patriotism than this? We know, on the one hand, how a cheerful optimism is apt to close its eyes to sin and misery, and, on the other hand, how a gloomy pessimism is ready to deny all gleam of dawn and hope. But the prophets, with a deep sense of their God-sent mission[3], looked life's stern realities in the face, and then rebuked their people's wilful deafness and deep-seated hypocrisy[4], and yet held up to them immortal visions of encouragement and hope[5]. Thus their moral sincerity and earnestness was in itself a healing and purifying presence, while they have handed on for all time their undying assurance that out of this world's widespread trouble and distress a universal Kingdom of righteousness and peace[6] will arise under the loving rule of One who shall swallow up death in victory and wipe away all tears from off all faces[7]. Nothing will ever extinguish the sublime expectation which they have fostered in mankind that a glorious sunrise of brightness and calm will follow the night of darkness and storm[8].

The Prophets as a power to-day.

They, therefore, represent religion to the world as the power which has to do with 'the mastery of life's sorrow and the consecration of earth's love'. Let us then ask: Wherein does their great force really lie? And, How does it, or may it, affect us at the present day?

We may admit at once that in some respects the teaching of the prophets falls below the highest standard of Christianity. The opening words of the Epistle to the Hebrews certainly suggest that there is something of a contrast[9] as well as a connexion[10] between the Jewish and Christian dispensations. 'God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets in many parts and in many fashions (*πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως*), hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son'. Jeremiah's imprecations[11] of his personal enemies are obviously incompatible both with the teaching and practice of Him who taught that we

[1] Amos iii. 10; Hos. iv. 1, 2; Isa. i. 4–15.
[2] Amos ii. 13–16; Isa. v. 26–30; Jer. ix. 9–12.
[3] Amos iii. 7; vii. 15; Isa. vi. 5–13; Jer. i. 4–19; Ezek. ii. 1–8.
[4] Amos v. 21–24; Jer. ix. 2–6, 13–16; Ezek. xxii. 23–31.
[5] Amos ix. 11–15; Hos. xiv; Isa. ix. 1–7; xxxii. 1–8; Jer. xxxi; Ezek. xxxvi. 11–38; Isa. lxi.
[6] Isa. xi. 6, 9; Zech. ix. 9, 10.
[7] Isa. xxv. 8.
[8] Isa. xxxv. 10; lxi. 1–9; Mal. iv. 2.
[9] Cf. Matt. v. 21–44; Mark x. 5; Luke ix. 54, 55. See vol. i. p. xii.
[10] Matt. v. 17, 18; Rom. iii. 31.
[11] Jer. xi. 20; xii. 13; xv. 15; xvii. 18; xviii. 21–23.

should love our enemies and bless them that persecute us, and whose first recorded saying on the cross was, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' But even so, we may point out that forgiveness of injury is implied in Hosea's treatment of his erring wife, and is indeed a natural inference from the tender loving forgiveness of God[1].

At the same time, it is with respect to the claims and duties of justice and common humanity that the teaching of the prophets is most emphatic[2], and in these respects few would venture to deny that the practice, if not indeed the aim and standard of our modern so-called Christian civilisation, falls very far short of the prophets' ideal. To the world at large, therefore, they still stand out pre-eminently as living examples[3] of heroic faith, indomitable hope, and inflexible righteousness, and by their impassioned moral teaching fix, beacon-like, their 'quenchless torch on high' to guide men in their struggles with darkness and error, to warn them of the perils they should avoid, and, above all, to urge them ever to trust the voice of God speaking within their inmost consciousness. For they never doubted the truth so well expressed by Hutton that 'the foundations of faith do not exist at all if they be not, in the truest sense, within the reach of the people'—that God is everywhere speaking to man and that man is intended to hear, and that so far as a man realises this, he has

> A spirit nobler in its cause and end,
> Lovelier in order, greater in its powers
> Than all those swift and bright immensities
> Which wheel above him in the starry vault.

But in so far as men do not realise this they become slaves of animals, and the society in which they find themselves is ready to become totally selfish and corrupt.

Hence it is that, as Matthew Arnold[4] said, 'as long as the world lasts, all who want to make progress in righteousness will come to Israel for inspiration, as to the people who have had the sense of righteousness most glowing and strongest, and in hearing and reading the words Israel has uttered for us, carers for conduct will find a glow and a force they could find nowhere else.' For while the poet-patriots of other nations recount their country's glories or weep over their country's woes, the burden of the

[1] Hos. iii. 1; xi. 1, 4; xiv. 4; Zeph. iii. 17; Jer. xxxi. 3; Isa. lxiii. 9.

[2] Amos v. 7, 11, 12, 15, 24; Hos. xii. 6; Isa. i. 17; Mic. vi. 8; Isa. lvii. 6–10; Zech. vii. 9–10; viii. 16, 17; Mal. iii. 5.

[3] See vol. i. p. v.

[4] *Literature and Dogma*, p. 42. 'For indeed it was not for the sake of the Jew alone that the prophets were sent . . . but for the whole world they were a sacred school of knowledge concerning God and of spiritual life' (St. Athanasius). See vol. i. p. xxviii.

Hebrew Prophets is, above all things, their country's responsibility before God. In the many grave social problems which confront our Western civilisation much, therefore, may be learnt from those who, now about two and a half millenniums ago, tended sheep in the wilderness of Judaea or watched the play of politics in the little hill-cities of Jerusalem and Samaria.

Slavery.

Those who would urge more energetic international efforts to put down the 'black-ivory' traffic and such kindred evils as revelations from the Congo, Mexico, Peru, &c., from time to time bear terrible witness to, might well appeal to the stern denunciations of Amos against Gaza and Tyre [1], for having sold whole peoples into slavery, passages which were apparently unknown to those who, to their shame be it said, opposed the abolition of slavery on the ground that it was an institution approved of by the Bible.

The prophets were for ever inveighing against the licentious practices of the heathen worship of their time.[2] How incensed would they be, if they lived now, at the apathy too often shewn in connexion with the White Slave traffic [3], with all its outrageous cruelty, involving the sacrifice, body and soul, of thousands of innocent victims, to satisfy the gross pleasures of men, many of whom insult Christ by calling themselves Christians.

Universal Peace.

So too with the prophetic vision of universal peace and goodwill. We are well aware of the many practical difficulties which beset the suppression of warfare. We readily admit that war, in spite of all its horrors and hideous carnage [4], has done a great deal for the development of individual character. We are justly proud of the heroism and patriotism of thousands of our British sailors and soldiers. And yet cannot much the same be said of disasters at sea and in our coal mines? They too call into play many of the noblest faculties of human nature. But they are no less deplorable on that account. The evils of war infinitely outbalance whatever good it may bring in its train, and we believe that the difficulties in connexion with its suppression might be overcome, and would assuredly be overcome, if men were convinced that universal peace was not merely an ideal which the prophets vaguely hoped for, but a Divine promise which they were certain would be fulfilled.

[1] Amos i. 6, 9; cf. Joel iii. 4–6.
[2] Amos ii. 7, 8; Hos. iv. 14; Isa. i. 29; Ezek. xxiii. 43–49.
[3] Cf. Joel iii. 3.
[4] The Duke of Wellington, who could never speak of the battle of Waterloo without emotion, once said to Sir Walter Scott, 'The next most dreadful thing to a battle lost is a battle won.'

Economic and social evils.

It would not be just to compare the ordinary relations of rich and poor in our time with those which prevailed in the days of the earlier prophets when men *sold the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes*, when they would *chop them in pieces as for the pot, and as flesh within the caldron*, and *panted after the dust of the earth on the head of the poor*.[1] Nor is it within our province, as editors of the Prophets, to propound schemes for the reconstruction of society. But this we feel bound to say, that the Prophets who could speak with such intense feeling of the social evils of their day would, if they had lived in our time, have been very indignant with the luxury, and it must be added, in many cases, with the selfishness of the rich, and the discomforts and even misery of very many of our poor. The gluttonous feasts of the gentlemen, the costly and ridiculous dresses of the ladies which so moved the indignation of Amos and the mockery of Isaiah[2]—himself a courtier—have surely their counterpart in the Mayfair of the twentieth century, and would be as sternly denounced were an Amos, a Micah, or an Isaiah to live among us now. And the same may certainly be said of the evils of sweating, inadequate remuneration of labour, and insufficient house-accommodation.[3]

It is hardly necessary to speak of the sins of impurity and of intemperance, which have been already touched upon, the suppression of which is certainly exercising the energies of some of the noblest spirits of our time, unless to point out how keenly the prophets felt their degrading influence.[4] The same is true also of commercial fraud, which if more cunning in our time, is the same in spirit as that in the days of Micah, who condemned the scant measure that is abominable, the wicked balances, and the bag of deceitful weights.[5]

Their high religious motive.

It may, however, be well to emphasize a fact, too often forgotten in our day, that the prophets sought the remedy for all these evils not in the more or less selfish desire to promote one's own happiness or self-interest, nor even in the regard for the general welfare of man, but mainly in realising that for men to be holy and just was the will of Him who Himself was the perfection of holiness[6] and justice.[7] How vain and insolent therefore was the

[1] Amos ii. 6, 7; Mic. iii. 3.
[2] Amos iii. 12; v. 23; vi. 4–6; Isa. iii. 16–24; v. 12.
[3] Amos iii. 10; iv. 1; v. 11; Isa. i. 23; iii. 15; v. 8; Mic. ii. 2; iii. 1–3.
[4] Hos. iv. 2; Jer. v. 7–8; xiii. 27; Ezek. xxii. 11.
[5] Mic. vi. 10, 11; cf. Amos viii. 5.
[6] Hos. xi. 9; Isa. vi. 5; xxix. 23; Jer. ii. 5; Ezek. xxxvi. 22; xxxix. 7; Isa. lvii. 15.
[7] Hos. xiv. 9; Isa. i. 27; xxvi. 7, 8; xxxiii. 22; xlv. 19; Zeph. iii. 5; Jer. ix. 24; xxii. 3–5; xxxi. 23.

mockery which offered ceremonial worship without the moral life. No denunciation of the prophets was more scathing, no arraignment more terribly severe, than that which exposed the hollowness and odiousness of religious observances which were unaccompanied with uprightness of living and integrity of character. It was a mere 'trampling of the courts' of Jehovah, who would 'have mercy and not sacrifice', who could not 'away with iniquity and the solemn meeting', and whose chief requirement of man is 'to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God'.[1]

Their desire to win men.

'But,' as Dr. G. A. Smith, who with the late Dean Stanley, has perhaps done more than any one in this country to apply the practical teaching of the Old Testament to the conditions and needs of modern life, writes[2], 'the ultimate fountain of the prophetic preaching is the passion to win men.[3] This is the secret both of the pathos and the splendours of its style. To the prophets preaching was no mere display, but a sore battle with the hard hearts of their contemporaries, in which the messenger of the Lord worked with the pity of his weakness upon him, at a supreme cost to himself and conscious that he must summon to his desperate task every resource of feeling and of art.'

Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not.

For My people have committed two evils; they have forsaken Me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.

The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved.

Is there no balm in Gilead? is there no physician there? why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?

Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that

[1] Isa. i. 12, 13; Hos. vi. 6; Mic. vi. 8. See Amos v. 21–24; Mic. vi. 6–8; Jer. vii. 8–11.

[2] *Modern Criticism and the preaching of the Old Test.*, p. 281. 'The anthropomorphisms, as they are called, are not to be interpreted as the mere effort of their writer's art to make the unseen vivid to the imagination of a rude people. We are to see in them the expression of what all the Prophets felt to be the essence of the Divine: the truth that God makes His people's salvation His own concern and effort, and accomplishes this not in power only but in pain and self-sacrifice. The sins and sorrows of men are not only set in the light of His countenance, but He bears them upon His heart. His righteousness is not only regnant but militant. He *rises and comes down*, entering His people's war with their enemies on a level of struggle equal with themselves. His love is not only complacent but sympathetic, passionate, self-sacrificing: *in all their affliction He is afflicted.* He *pleads* for their loyalty; *reasons* with them in their sins; *travails* for their new birth and their growth in holiness; and is *longsuffering* with their sinfulness and their ignorance' (ibid. pp. 175, 176).

[3] Jer. v. 1; Ezek. iii. 21.

I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!

And, lo, thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument: for they hear thy words, but they do them not.

And if I say, I will not make mention of Him, nor speak any more in His name, then there is in mine heart as it were a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I am weary with forbearing, and I cannot contain.

Comfort ye, comfort ye My people, saith your God. Speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem, and cry unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned.[1]

Individual responsibility and personal character.

If, as Mr. Frederick Harrison has recently said[2], 'the urgent task of our time is to recognise a religious faith as the basis of life both personal and social', the proper adjustment of the respective claims of the individual and society is no less pressing and imperative. It is probably first to Ezekiel, who has therefore been regarded as the father of individualists, that we largely owe the truth underlying the doctrine of human equality, which is tending to become more and more recognised. Literally, of course, no doctrine is more obviously and glaringly false. No two human beings are equal, for in the complexity of human conditions how wide is the scope for individual difference and variety. The equality is therefore not that of condition in which there are numberless inequalities, physical, mental and moral, but of consideration and regard, and of opportunity for developing innate capacity and latent worth. And personal responsibility is the correlative of this individual equality. In nearly all early societies, that of Israel included, moral responsibility attached less to the individual than to the family, clan, or nation.[3] A man's value was estimated not from a personal but from a military, political, and industrial standpoint. He was therefore merged in the social organism of which he was a part, and which was regarded as bearing a moral responsibility capable of receiving rewards and punishments. But when Sophocles (496–405 B.C.), the supreme artist of tragedy, was led to express in his *Antigone* who insists upon performing the last sacred duty to her dead brother, in defiance of the edict which sought to 'overpass the unwritten laws of God, that know no change'[4] Ezekiel (*c.* 594) a century before had proclaimed with even greater

[1] Isa. vi. 9; Jer. ii. 13; viii. 20, 22; ix. 1; Ezek. xxxiii. 32; Jer. xx. 9; Isa. xl. 1, 2.

[2] *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1912.

[3] Gen. vii. 1; Josh. vii. 24; 2 Sam. xx. 15; Ps. cix. 14; Matt. xxvii. 25; cf. Exod. xx. 5; xxxvi. 6–8.

[4] Dean Plumptre's translation.

earnestness from his exile on the banks of the Chebar. *The soul that sinneth it shall die*—here was the solemn assertion of a man's separate and personal responsibility as a free spirit in the presence of the Father of spirits who impartially deals with every man according to his own individual character.

And how exquisite is the picture we have of the character on which the Prophets set their approval. It is Zephaniah, the sweeping and burning prophet, who paints it for us, in its two-fold aspect of a simple faith reposing loving trust in God, and of a fearless conduct founded upon sincerity and truth. *They shall trust in the name of the Lord. They shall not do iniquity, nor speak lies; neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth: for they shall feed and lie down, and none shall make them afraid.*[1]

The Church's mission and international responsibility.

Perhaps nowhere is the detailed fulfilment of Prophecy more apparent than in the fact that the faith of Israel in its developed Christian form, freed from such complicated non-essentials by which its essence is thought by many to have been largely overlaid and disfigured, is becoming the religion of the world. 'Some, no doubt, think that just as life itself would seem to be but "a brief interlude in the awful aeons of the world's history", so Christianity is but "one of the days of humanity", which, having followed others, less exalted, will be succeeded by others more sublime. But the aim of Christianity is to build up humanity into a harmonious unity, and to raise it to an eternal oneness with God. What scheme or plan can possibly supersede this ineffable project of making God and man truly at one in an eternal and spiritual unity? For Christianity views mankind as one vast family of God, recognising its unity and destiny through the Catholic Church.'[2] No other religion is in the moral sphere so universally practicable or in the intellectual sphere so capable of adjustment to the requirements of thought, as that which we trace back to the Jews, and in whose prophets we find some of its best exponents. 'The Yahweh of the Prophets is the source of all righteousness, purity and tenderness; and in common with this is the feeling that all immorality is an offence against God's holiness, and therefore requires His pardon. *We* accept such doctrines as

[1] Zeph. iii. 12, 13; cf. Zech. vii. 9; Isa. lx. 21; lxiii. 8; Ezek. xviii. 27.

[2] 'The Church and Civilisation', by F. E. Powell, in *Good Citizenship*, pp. 322, 323. 'To the Church', said Mazzini, 'we owe the idea of the unity of the human family and of the equality and emancipation of souls. Great social transformations never have been and never will be other than the application of a religious principle, of a moral development, of a strong and active common faith.' 'The two great forming agencies of the world's history have been the religious and the economic. . . . They have nearly always been more important than all others put together' (*Economics of Industry*, Marshall, vol. i. p. 1).

a matter of course; but *then* they were new truths which th world had yet to learn. The Jews learnt them first and the taught them to the world.'[1]

It is to their splendid prophecies (which fused religion an morality into one homogeneous whole), as ratified and confirme by Christ, that the world is indebted for that noble and religiou conception of the mission and destiny of nations and of inte national responsibility which is surely if slowly gaining ground Christendom is seen to be God's prophet to the nations, while more particularly, the missionary's bold and glorious programm is the education and evangelisation of the whole heathen world The imposing magnitude of the results already obtained is bu an earnest of those which we at present but dimly perceive.[2] I was the Exile which brought the Jews into contact with othe oppressed nations, and as Jonah on the storm-driven ship with th heathen sailors, so they found that they were bound together i a common humanity—and that their particular election simpl constituted a stage towards universal election. Their exclusio was temporary to bring about a final inclusion. And so the grea unknown Prophet of the Restoration painted that immortal an pathetic picture of the suffering Servant, who represents a idealised Israel, disciplined in the furnace of affliction in orde that it might work for the redemption of the world.

I Jehovah have called thee with faithfulness of purpose,
And will hold thine hand, and will keep thee,
And give thee for a covenant of the people,
For a light to the nations.

He shall not fail nor flag
Till he have set religion in the earth;
And the isles shall wait for his teaching.[3]

The promotion of unity and concord in the religious and industria spheres.

Is not their spirit with us too, to heal our unhappy divisions an to promote that religious concord which should characterise a who profess and call themselves Christians? For they bid u look forward when

The envy also of Ephraim shall depart,
And they that vex Judah shall be cut off:

[1] *The Hope of Israel*, F. H. Woods, p. 209.

[2] 'Few things in human history wear an aspect of higher moral grandeur tha the opening of what are now our great missions. . . . All other enterprises o beneficence must yield to this magnificent attempt to expel debasing superst tions, and convey into every heart the ennobling influences of the Christia religion' (*The Nineteenth Century: a History*, R. Mackenzie, p. 208).

[3] Isa. xlii. 6, 7; 4.

Ephraim shall not envy Judah,
And Judah shall not vex Ephraim.

And the work of righteousness shall be peace;
And the effect of righteousness quietness and confidence for ever.
And My people shall abide in a peaceable habitation.[1]

And so is it also in the economic and industrial sphere. Competition and rivalry are destined to give way to co-operation and mutual support, so that Isaiah's noble prophecy concerning God's holy mountain may be realised, when the very nature of wild beasts is so changed that the desire to destroy and devour one another is removed.

The wolf shall dwell with the lamb,
And the leopard shall lie down with the kid;
And the calf and the young lion and the fatling together;
And a little child shall lead them.[2]

Thus has Prophecy illumined and will continue to illumine

with instance of its fire sublime
The dusk of many a cloud-like age and clime,[3]

shewing that through these very ages and climes themselves 'one increasing purpose runs'—a purpose becoming ever more apparent and more intelligible, and making the 'far-off Divine event' ever more believable.

Their value in cultivating the highest ideals.

And yet never was there a period perhaps when men wanted warning that to trust in material powers, or in the commerce that floods their land with gold; to succumb to the love of wealth and the love of pleasure, 'the instinct to gather and the instinct to squander', is of all blunders the most fatuous. By the study of what other literature than this, with its

soul-stirring recollections,
And hopes their bright reflections,

—those great moral and religious truths which these old Hebrew Prophets proclaimed with such unfaltering earnestness and zeal,—could we derive greater inspiration and motive power? Under competent teachers the Prophets might be made the vehicle of the highest spiritual and social training, besides possessing a very great literary value and charm. For range of subject, for wealth of poetic beauty, for grandeur of imagery and rich variety of appeal, these old-world writings have seldom if ever been surpassed. By them

The dead Past springs resuscitate
To enrich the Present with its buried gold.

[1] Isa. xi. 13; xxxii. 17, 18. [2] Isa. xi. 6. [3] Swinburne.

Their direct and vigorous diction when warning and exhorting, their spiritual earnestness and reverence for all that is good and true and unselfish, their piteous wail of pathos and strong note of encouragement, their bold, uncompromising denunciation of sin, often mingled with a tender compassion for the sinner, their sense of their country's burden allied with their buoyant, predominating hope, above all their assured faith in God's great, loving purpose for mankind, should come as an all-powerful stimulus to the young in providing them with moral and social ideals. How often do our modern statecraft, economic science and efforts at social reform miss much of their aim and efficacy from a lack of vision and religious ideal among our huge populations? The prophetic writings serve to keep alive the mystical side of human life which neither social science nor practical politics can afford to ignore. What Huxley [1] once wrote of the Bible generally is in part especially true of the Prophets: 'By the study of what other book could children be so humanized and made to feel that each figure in the vast historical procession fills, like themselves, but a momentary space in the interval between two eternities and earns the blessings or the curses of all time according to its effort to do good and hate evil? The pagan moralists lack fire and colour, and even the noble Stoic, Marcus Aurelius, is too high and refined for an ordinary child.' Whatever is good and excellent in the laws of the social life and the literature of our Western civilisation has been largely drawn from the spiritual life and moral inspiration found in the Bible [2], the chief contributors to which, apart from the Evangelists, have been the Psalmists and the Prophets. And in recalling the busy, hurrying world—so pre-occupied as it is with its business and amusements, 'the cares and riches and pleasures of this life'—to the treasure it has in this literature, and in seeking to persuade it to draw, as our own gracious King [3] has said, upon 'its inexhaustible springs of wisdom, courage, and joy', we would vindicate it as the great witness for spiritual liberty and power and the grand instrument of moral health and human emancipation. For the undying hope of the world [4] lies in the truth to which all the Prophets bear witness, that only in God Himself can man find his Deliverer, and that His Name alone is the ground of all social order and human freedom.

[1] *Contemporary Review*, December, 1870.
[2] See vol. i. pp. v and xvi.
[3] At the Tercentenary of our Authorised Version.
[4] 'Jesus Christ, the one, central Hope of our poor, wayward race' (W. E. Gladstone).

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A GENERAL INDEX OF PROPHETIC THOUGHT AND TEACHING

1. With regard to such terms as Church, Kingdom, Messiah, &c., it must be understood that the references are often to the *application* of the passage and not necessarily to the meaning of the writer.

2. The 'Reference Index', which follows this 'General Index', will enable the reader to trace certain verbal parallels or passages containing similarity of idea or of expression in the prophetic books.

3. Historical, geographical, and other more or less concrete references, &c., will be found in the indexes attached to the separate volumes of this work, and are not, as a rule, repeated in this 'General Index.'

4. Supplementary reference, however, will be found in these separate indexes under such headings as Assonance; Alliteration; Eastern illustrations; Social and Moral conditions; Worship, &c.

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12 — *spiritual, from God,* Am. 2. 11; 3. 2; Hos. 6. 3; 13. 4; 14. 5–8; Isa. 1. 25–27; 4. 3, 4; 6. 7; 9. 6, 7; 19. 24, 25; 26. 12; 28. 5, 6; 33. 5, 6; 39. 8; Mic. 5. 5; Nah. 1. 7; Hab. 3. 19; Jer. 3. 22; 31. 12, 14, 33; 32. 40; 33. 8; Obad. 17, 21; Ezek. 11. 19, 20; 16. 14; 34. 23–31; 36. 25–27; 37. 14. 23–28; Isa. 40. 11, 29, 31; 41. 9–20; 44. 3; 45. 8, 24, 25; 54. 17; 55. 1–5; 57. 18, 19; 58. 8–14; Zech. 7. 12; 8. 3; 10. 6, 12; 11. 7; 12. 7–10; 14. 9; Joel 2. 28, 29; Dan. 2. 44; 7. 14, 27; 11. 32.
13 — *temporal, from God,* Am. 2. 9, 10; 4. 7; 9. 11–15; Hos. 2. 8; 11. 3, 4; 13. 4–6; Isa. 25. 4, 6; 30. 23–26; 31. 1; 33. 21, 22; Jer. 5. 24; 10. 13; 14. 22; 27. 5, 6; 30. 18–22; 31. 4, 5, 28, 35; 51. 16; Ezek. 16. 19; 34. 26; 36. 28–38; Isa. 43. 20; 45. 12; 48. 21; 49. 8–13; 51. 2; 55. 10; 66. 2; Zech. 10. 1; Mal. 3. 10, 11; Joel 2. 21–26; 3. 18; Dan. 1. 9; 2. 21, 37, 38; 4. 17; 5. 18; 6. 20, 22.
14 **Blindness, spiritual** (see Confidence, false), Am. 6. 3; 9. 10; Hos. 4. 1, 6, 11, 14; 5. 4; 7. 9, 11; 10. 10; 12. 8; Isa. 1. 3; 5. 13, 20; 6. 9, 10; 9. 2; 10. 7; 26. 10, 11; 27. 11; 28. 13, 15; 29. 10, 11, 18; 32. 3, 4; 35. 5; Mic. 3. 1–3; 4. 12; Jer. 2. 8; 4. 22; 5. 4, 5, 21; 8. 7, 9; 9. 3, 6; 16. 10; 17. 9; 18. 18; Ezek. 12. 2; Isa. 40. 21, 27, 28; 42. 7, 18–20; 44. 18, 20; 48. 8; 49. 14; 56. 10; 60. 2; Dan. 12. 10.
15 **Bribery,** Am. 2. 6; 5. 7, 12; 6. 12; 8. 6; Isa. 1. 23; 5. 23; 33. 15; Mic. 3. 5, 9–11; 7. 3; Jer. 6. 13; Ezek. 13. 19; 18. 8, 13, 17; 22. 12, 13, 17.
Brotherhood (see Fraternity; Unity).
16 **Burial, references to** (see Cremation), Isa. 14. 15, 19, 20; 22. 16; Jer. 7. 32; 8. 1, 2; 14. 16; 16. 4–6; 19. 11; 22. 19; 26. 23; 36. 30; Ezek. 6. 5; 32. 18–32; 39. 11–15; 43. 7; Isa. 65. 4.

1 **Calves at Bethel and Samaria, prophecies against,** Am. 3. 14; 4. 4; 5. 5; 8. 14; Hos. 4. 15; 8. 5, 6; 10. 5, 6, 8, 10, 15; 13. 2; Mic. 1. 5; Jer. 48. 13.
2 **Call,** *personal,* Am. 7. 15; Isa. 6. 8–10; Jer. 1. 4–10; 35. 15; Ezek. 2. 1—3. 21; Isa. 45. 1–4; 51. 2; 55. 5.
3 — *rejected,* Isa. 6. 9; 28. 12; Jer. 6. 16, 19; 7. 13, 27; 25. 3, 4; 26. 4–6; Isa. 42. 18–23; 50. 2; 65. 12; 66. 4; Zech. 7. 11–13.
Celestial phenomena (see Metereological).
Ceremonialism (see Formalism).
4 **Character, instability of** (see Apostasy; Backsliding), Hos. 6. 4; 7. 8; 10. 2; Mic. 6. 3; Zeph. 1. 5; Jer. 2. 5, 18, 23, 36; 31. 22.
5 **Chastisement from God** (see Affliction; Judgements; Punishment; Wicked, punishment of), Am. 4. 6–12; Hos. 7. 12; 10. 10; Isa. 9. 13; 10. 5, 6; 26. 16; Zeph. 3. 8; Jer. 2. 30; 5. 3; 10. 24; 30. 14; 31. 18; 46. 28; Ezek. 24. 9–14; Isa. 42. 25; 53. 4, 5; 57. 17; Hag. 1. 9; 2. 17.
Cherubim (see Angels).
6 **Children,** Isa. 10. 19; 11. 6; 14. 21; 28. 9; 38. 19; Jer. 1. 5–7; 31. 19, 20; 32. 18; Ezek. 16. 4–6; 18. 2–30; Isa. 54. 1; Joel 1. 3; Dan. 6. 24.
7 — *God's care of,* Hos. 14. 3; Isa. 11. 8; Jer. 32. 39; 49. 11; Isa. 40. 11; 44. 3–5; 54. 13; 61. 9; 65. 23; Zech. 8. 5; Mal. 3. 5.
8 — *good,* Jer. 1. 5–7; Mal. 1. 6.
9 — *wicked,* Isa. 3. 5; Mic. 7. 6; Jer. 3. 25; 7. 18; 32. 30; Ezek. 22. 7.

10 **Children,** *sacrifice of* (see under Idolatry, modes of worship), Mic. 6. 7; Jer. 7. 31; 32. 35; Ezek. 16. 20, 21; 20. 26, 31.

11 **Church,**[1] **God's,** *apostate* (see Apostasy), Am. 6. 1–6; Hos. 2. 2–13; 4. 1—5. 7; 6. 7—8. 14; Isa. 1. 2–27; 17. 9–11; Jer. 2. 5–34; 3. 1–25; 8. 5–22; 9. 1–3; 10. 19–22; 18. 11–17; 50. 4–7; Ezek. 2. 3–5; 5. 5–17; 16. 2–63; 23. 2–49; Isa. 43. 22–28.

12 — *Corruption in* (see Corruption of leaders), Am. 2. 4, 6–8, 12; 3. 9, 10; 4. 1; 5. 7, 10–13; 9. 8; Hos. 4. 1, 2, 4, 6–14; Mic. 3. 1–11.

13 — *Head of* (see Kingship: Messiah), Hos. 3. 5; Isa. 9. 6, 7; 32. 1; 33. 22; Mic. 5. 2; Jer. 23. 5; 30. 21; Ezek. 34. 23; Isa. 55. 4; Zech. 9. 9; Dan. 9. 25.

14 — *Love for* (see Patriotism), Isa. 22. 4; Mic. 1. 8; Jer. 9. 1, 18; 13. 17; 51. 50, 51; Isa. 58. 12; 62. 1, 6, 7; 65. 19; 66. 10, 13, 14.

15 — *Membership in,* Isa. 2. 2, 3; 14. 1; Mic. 4. 2; Ezek. 44. 6–9; Isa. 44. 5; 56. 7; Zech. 2. 11; 8. 22, 23; 14. 16.

16 — *Prophecies concerning prosperity of* (see Gospel; Restoration), Am. 9. 11, 12; Isa. 2. 2–5; 4. 2–6; 9. 1–7; 11. 1–10; 18. 7; 19. 24, 25; 20. 5; 23. 17, 18; 24. 16; 25. 6–8; 29. 18–24; 30. 20; 32. 1–20; 33. 5, 13–24; 35. 1–10; Mic. 4. 1–7; 5. 2–15; Zeph. 2. 11; 3. 9–20; Hab. 2. 14; Jer. 3. 17; 4. 2; 16. 19–21; 31. 7–9, 34; 33. 1–26; Ezek. 17. 22–24; 34. 23–31; 47. 1–12; Isa. 40. 4–11; 41. 17–20; 42. 1–12; 44. 3–5; 45. 6, 8, 14, 23, 24; 46. 13; 49. 6–12, 18–23; 51. 3–16; 52. 1–15; 53. 10–12; 54. 1–17; 55. 1–13; 56. 3–8; 59. 19–21; 60. 1–22; 61. 1–11; 62. 1–12; 65. 1–25; 66. 7–23; Hag. 2. 7–9; Zech. 2. 10, 11; 6. 15; 8. 20–23; 9. 1, 9–17; 14. 8–21; Mal. 1. 11; Joel 2. 26–32; 3. 18; Dan. 2. 35, 44, 45; 7. 13–27; 12. 1–13.

Comfort (see Affliction, consolation in; Righteous, promises to).

Communion with God (see Walking with God).

17 **Company, Evil** (see Example), Hos. 4. 17; 7. 5, 8, 9; Isa. 1. 23; 6. 5; 8. 11, 12; Mic. 6. 16; Zeph. 1. 8; Jer. 2. 25; 3. 13; 9. 2; 15. 17; 51. 6, 45; Ezek. 2. 8; 23. 5–7, 12–17; Hag. 2. 10–14.

Complaint (see Murmuring).

18 **Conceit** (see Pride), Isa. 5. 21; Jer. 9. 23; Obad. 3.

Confession (see Sin, confession of).

19 **Confidence, false** (see Blindness, spiritual; Security, false), Am. 6. 1–7, 13; Hos. 1. 7; 5. 13; 7. 11, 16; 8. 4–6, 14; 10. 6, 13; 12. 1; 13. 10; 14. 3, 8; Isa. 2. 22; 5. 12, 21; 8. 6, 12; 9. 10; 20. 5; 22. 11; 28. 15, 18; 30. 1, 2, 5, 7, 15, 16; 31. 1, 3; 36. 6; Mic. 3. 5, 11; Zeph. 1. 12; 2. 15; Jer. 2. 13, 18, 22, 28, 36, 37; 3. 23; 5. 12, 17; 6. 14; 7. 8; 8. 11; 11. 12; 12. 5; 14. 13; 17. 5; 21. 13; 22. 15; 23. 17; 37. 5–9; 48. 7, 11; 49. 4; Obad. 3; Ezek. 7. 25; 8. 12; 9. 9; 13. 10–11; 17. 17; 29. 6, 7; 30. 8; Isa. 47. 7, 8, 10; 48. 22; 56. 12; 57. 13, 21; Zech. 4. 6; Jon. 1. 3–5.

20 **Conscience,** *guilty or dead,* Isa. 59. 9–14.

— *dead* (see Blindness), Am. 6. 1–6; Jer. 6. 15.

Consolation (see Comfort).

21 **Conspiracy** (see Treachery), Hos. 5. 1; 6. 9; 7. 6; Isa. 7. 5, 6; Jer. 9. 8; 11. 19; 18. 18; Dan. 3. 8–18; 6. 4–17.

22 **Contingencies in Divine government of man** (see Blessings), Am. 5. 14, 15; Zeph. 2. 3; Jer. 12. 17; 18. 8–10; 22. 5; 26. 3, 13, 19; 36. 3, 7; Ezek. 12. 3; 33. 10–20; Isa. 60. 12; Zech. 14. 17–19; Joel 2. 14; Jon. 3. 9, 10.

Contrition (see Repentance; Sin, confession of).

23 **Conversion of heathen,** Isa. 2. 2, 3; 9. 2; 11. 9–12; 18. 7; 19. 18–25; Mic. 4. 1–5; Zeph. 2. 11; 3. 9, 10; Hab. 2. 14; Jer. 3. 17; 4. 2; 16. 19–21; Isa. 40. 5; 42. 1–12; 44. 1–5; 45. 6, 18–25; 49. 6–8, 22, 23; 51. 4, 5; 52. 15; 55. 5; 56. 3, 6, 7; 60. 1–14; 65. 1; 66. 7–24; Hag. 2. 7; Zech. 2. 11; 8. 20–23; 9. 1, 10; 14. 8–21; Mal. 1. 11.

[1] See p. 215, § 1.

24 **Conviction of sin** (see Remorse; Repentance; Sin, confession of), Isa. 6. 5; Mic. 6. 6; 7. 17; Ezek. 7. 16-18, 26; 33. 10; Jon. 1. 16; 3. 5-10; Dan. 5. 6.

25 **Correction** (see Affliction; Chastisement; Instruction), Hos. 5. 2; Zeph. 3. 2, 7; Hab. 1. 12; Jer. 2. 19, 30; 5. 3; 7. 28; 10. 24; 17. 23; 30. 11; 32. 33; 35. 13; 46. 28; Ezek. 5. 15.

26 **Corruption of leaders** (see Church, corruption in), Am. 2. 6-8; 3. 10; 4. 1; 5. 7, 11-15; 6. 3-12; 8. 4, 6; Hos. 4. 5-11; 5. 1-7; 7. 3-7; Isa. 1. 21-23; 3. 16-23; 5. 11, 12, 23; 10. 1, 2; 28. 1-8; 29. 9-12, 21; 32. 9-12; Mic. 3. 1-3, 9-11; 6. 10, 11; 7. 1-6; Zeph. 1. 4-12; 3. 3, 4; Hab. 1. 3, 4; Jer. 2. 8, 26; 5. 26-31; 6. 13-15; 8. 8-13; 10. 21; 14. 18; 23. 1, 2, 9-40; 34. 8-22; 36. 23, 24; 37. 2; Ezek. 13. 2-23; 22. 23-31; 34. 2-10, 17-22.

27 **Courage enjoined**, Jer. 1. 8, 17; 5. 1; Ezek. 2. 6; 3. 9; 22. 30; Hag. 2. 4, 5.

28 **Covenant, the Divine**, Hos. 6. 7; 8. 1; Isa. 24. 5; Mic. 7. 20; Jer. 11. 2-10; 14. 21; 22. 9; 33. 20-26; 34. 13-18; Ezek. 16. 8, 59-63; 20. 37; 37. 26; 44. 7; Isa. 56. 4, 6; Hag. 2. 5; Zech. 11. 10; Mal. 2. 4-10; Dan. 11. 28-32.

29 — *Blood of*, Zech. 9. 11.

30 — *New*, Hos. 2. 14-23; Jer. 17. 24-26; 31. 31-33; 32. 40; 50. 5; Ezek. 34. 25; 37. 26; Isa. 54. 10; 55. 3; 59. 21; 61. 8; Zech. 8. 8; Mal. 3. 1.

31 — *Human*, Hos. 12. 1; Isa. 28. 15-19; 33. 8; Jer. 34. 8-11; Ezek. 16. 59; 17. 13-19.

32 — *False*, Hos. 10. 4.

33 **Covetousness** (see Riches), Am. 2. 6, 7; 8. 4, 5; Isa. 1. 23; 5. 8; Mic. 2. 2; 3. 11; 7. 3; Hab. 1. 15, 16; 2. 5-9; Jer. 6. 13; 8. 10; 9. 23; 17. 11; 22. 13-19; 51. 13; Ezek. 22. 12, 13, 27; 33. 31; Isa. 56. 11; 57. 17.

34 **Cremation**, Am. 2. 1; 6. 10; Jer. 29. 22; 34. 5.

Cruelty (see Inhumanity).

35 **Cup** *of consolation*, Jer. 16. 7.

36 — *of sorrow*, Hab. 2. 16; Jer. 25. 15-28; 49. 12; 51. 7; Obad. 16; Isa. 51. 17, 22; Zech. 12. 2.

1 **Darkness**, *of judgement*, Am. 5. 18, 20; Isa. 5. 30; 8. 22; 13. 10; Mic. 7. 8; Zeph. 1. 15; Jer. 4. 28; 13. 16; Ezek. 32. 7, 8; Isa. 50. 3; Joel 2. 2, 10, 31; 3. 15; cf. Am. 4. 13; 8. 9.

2 — *of spiritual blindness* (see Blindness), Isa. 9. 2; Mic. 7. 8; Isa. 42. 16; 50. 10.

3 **Day of the Lord**, Am. 5. 18-20; Hos. 4. 3; Isa. 2. 10-21; 13. 6-13; 24-27; 24. 1-12, 21-23; 34. 1-10; Mic. 1. 3, 4; Zeph. 1. 2, 3, 7-18; 2. 2, 3; 3. 8, 11; Jer. 46. 10; Obad. 8-15; Ezek. 7. 7-19; 13. 5; 30. 2-9; 34. 12; 36. 33; 38. 14-19; 39. 8-22; 48. 35; Isa. 52. 6; 61. 2; 63. 4; Zech. 14. 1; Mal. 3. 2; 4. 1, 5; Joel 1. 15; 2. 1-11, 31; 3. 14.

4 **Death**, Hos. 13. 14; Isa. 5. 14; 25. 8; 26. 19; 38. 1, 10, 18; Jer. 9. 21; 31. 15; Ezek. 14. 21; 37. 12; Isa. 40. 7; 51. 12; Zech. 1. 5.

5 — *called sleep*, Nah. 3. 18; Jer. 51. 39, 57; Dan. 12. 2.

6 — *desired*, Jer. 8. 3; Jon. 4. 3, 8.

7 — *of the righteous*, Isa. 57. 1, 2; Dan. 12. 13.

8 — *of the wicked*, Am. 9. 10; Isa. 14. 11, 15; 17. 14; 26. 14; Jer. 15. 2; 16. 4-6; Ezek. 28. 8, 10; 31. 18; 32. 18-32.

9 — *spiritual* (see Wicked, punishment of), Ezek. 18. 4, 20-24, 31; 33. 8-18.

10 **Deceit** (see Confidence, false; Falsehood; Flattery; Hypocrisy), Hos. 11. 12; 12. 3, 7; Zeph. 1. 9; 3. 13; Jer. 5. 27; 8. 5; 9. 2, 8; 14. 14; 15. 18; 17. 9; 23. 26; Obad. 3, 7; Isa. 53. 9.

11 **Depravity of man** (see Reprobacy; Sin; Wicked described), Hos. 6. 7; Isa. 1. 5, 6; Mic. 7. 2-4; Zeph. 3. 7; Jer. 2. 22, 29; 3. 17; 5. 23; 6. 7; 13. 23; 16. 12; 17. 1, 9; Ezek. 36. 25, 26; 37. 1-3; Isa. 43. 8; 48. 8; 53. 6; 57. 9; 59. 12-15; 64. 6.

12 **Desire, spiritual** (see Hunger), Hos. 3. 5; 10. 12; Isa. 8. 17, 19; 26. 8, 9; Hab. 3. 2; Jer. 24. 7; 29. 13; 32. 39; 50. 4; Ezek. 11. 19, 20; Isa. 40. 31; 55. 1, 2, 6.

13 **Despair, Despondency** (see Remorse), Hos. 10. 8; Isa. 2. 10, 19; 8. 20-22; 13. 6-8; 17. 11; 21. 3;

29. 4; Mic. 7. 1-6; Nah. 2. 10; Jer. 2. 25; 8. 20; 18. 12; Jon. 2. 2-4; 4. 3-8; Dan. 5. 6.
14 — *comfort in* (see Affliction, consolation in), Isa. 35. 3, 4.
Discontent (see Murmuring).
Discouragement (see Despair).
15 **Dishonesty** (see Bribery; Robbery; Theft), Am. 3. 10; 8. 5; Hos. 4. 1, 2; 12. 7; Isa. 32. 7; 33. 15; Mic. 6. 10, 11; Zeph. 1. 9; Nah. 3. 1; Jer. 5. 26-28; 7. 8-10; 9. 4-8; 17. 11; 22. 13; 51. 13; Ezek. 22. 13, 27; 45. 10; Zech. 5. 3, 4.
Disobedience (see Impenitence).
16 **Divorce** (see Marriage), Mic. 2. 9; Jer. 3. 1, 8; Isa. 50. 1; 54. 4; Mal. 2. 14-16.
17 **Doubting** (see Murmuring), Hos. 10. 3; Jer. 1. 6; 8. 18; 15. 18; 32. 24, 25; 45. 3; Isa. 40. 27, 28; 49. 14; 50. 2.
18 **Dream**, Isa. 29. 7, 8; Jer. 23. 25-32; 27. 9; 29. 8; Zech. 10. 2; Joel 2. 28; Dan. 2. 16-23, 28-30; 4. 5-37; 7. 1-28.
19 **Drunkenness** (see Wine), Am. 2. 8, 12; 4. 1; 6. 6; Hos. 4. 11; 7. 5, 14; Isa. 5. 11, 12, 22; 19. 14; 24. 20; 28. 1-8; 29. 9; Mic. 2. 11; Nah. 1. 10; 3. 11; Hab. 2. 5, 15-17; Jer. 13. 13; 25. 15, 16, 27, 28; 48. 26; 51. 7-9, 39, 57; Ezek. 23. 32; Isa. 49. 26; 51. 17, 21-23; 56. 12; 63. 6.

Early rising (see Rising early).
Earnestness (see Zeal).
Effeminacy (see Impotence).
Emphasis of repetition[1], Isa. 6. 3; Jer. 7. 4; 22. 29; Ezek. 21. 27; Hag. 2. 6, 9; Zech. 1. 3.
Encouragement (see Courage enjoined; Faith enjoined).
Enthusiasm (see Zeal).
1 **Envy** (see Strife), Isa. 11. 13; Ezek. 31. 9; 35. 11.
Equity (see Justice).
2 **Example, Bad** (see Company, Evil), Hos. 4. 9, 15; 5. 5; 8. 11; Jer. 7. 26; 16. 12; 17. 1, 2; Ezek. 2. 8; 20. 7, 18; Isa. 50. 7; Zech. 1. 4.
3 **Extortion** (see Oppression; Violence), Isa. 16. 4; Mic. 3. 1-3; Ezek. 22. 12.

[1] See vol. iii. p. 210, note 8.

1 **Faith**, Isa. 10. 20; 14. 32; 25. 4; 26. 3, 4; 30. 15; Nah. 1. 7; Jer. 17. 7, 8; 39. 18; Isa. 57. 13.
2 — *enjoined* (see Courage; Waiting), Isa. 26. 4, 20; 35. 3, 4; 37. 6; Zeph. 3. 16, 17; Hab. 2. 3, 4; Jer. 30. 10; 42. 11; 46. 27, 28; 49. 11; Isa. 41. 10, 13, 14; 43. 1, 2, 5, 10; 44. 2, 8; 50. 10; Zech. 8. 9; 9. 12; Joel 2. 21; 3. 16.
3 — *exemplified*, Isa. 8. 10, 17; 12. 2; 21. 8; 25. 9; 26. 1, 8; 33. 2; 38. 16; Mic. 7. 7-9, 20; Zeph. 3. 12; Hab. 1. 12; 2. 1; 3. 17-19; Jer. 10. 23; 14. 9, 22; 16. 19; 17. 12, 17; 20. 11; Ezek. 44. 15; Isa. 59. 1; 60. 18; Jon. 2. 2-9; Dan. 3. 16, 17; 6. 16.
False Confidence (see Confidence).
4 **Falsehood** (see Deceit; Hypocrisy; Liars; Perjury), Am. 2. 4; Hos. 4. 1, 2; 7. 1, 13; 10. 13; 12. 1; Isa. 28. 15; 32. 7; Mic. 6. 12; Zeph. 3. 13; Nah. 3. 1; Jer. 7. 8, 28; 8. 8; 9. 3-8; 12. 6; 13. 25; Obad. 7; Isa. 57. 11; 59. 3, 4, 13; 63. 8; Zech. 5. 3, 4; 8. 16, 17.
5 **Fasting**, Jer. 14. 12; 36. 9; Isa. 58. 3-7; Zech. 7. 5; 8. 19; Joel 1. 14; 2. 12-17; Jon. 3. 5-10; Dan. 6. 18; 9. 3; 10. 2, 3.
Fatherless (see Orphan; Widow).
6 **Fear of God**, Hos. 3. 5; Isa. 2. 10, 19-21; 8. 13; 25. 3; 29. 13, 23; 33. 6, 13, 14; Mic. 7. 17; Zeph. 1. 7; 2. 11; 3. 7; Hab. 2. 20; Jer. 5. 22; 10. 7; 32. 39, 40; 33. 9; 36. 3; Isa. 50. 10; 59. 19; 60. 5; 66. 2; Hag. 1. 12; Zech. 2. 13; Mal. 1. 6; 3. 16; 4. 2.
7 **Fellowship with God**, Hos. 11. 9; Isa. 12. 6; Zeph. 3. 15; Jer. 3. 17; Ezek. 35. 10; 37. 27; 48. 35; Isa. 57. 15; Zech. 2. 10; 8. 3.
8 **Flattery**, Isa. 29. 13; Ezek. 33. 30-33; Dan. 6. 7; 11. 21, 32, 34.
Forgiveness (see Pardon).
9 **Formalism**, Am. 5. 21-23; Hos. 6. 6; 8. 13; 9. 4; Isa. 1. 11-15; 29. 13-16; Mic. 3. 4; 6. 6, 7; Jer. 6. 20; 7. 8-23; 14. 12; Mal. 1. 6-14; 2. 13-16.
10 **Fornication** (see Adultery; Lewdness; Whoredom), Hos. 1. 2; Isa. 1. 21; 23. 17; Jer. 2. 20; 3. 1, 6; Ezek. 16. 15, 26, 29.
11 **Fraternity** (see Unity), Am. 3. 3;

Isa. 11. 6–9, 13; 24. 16; 33. 1; Zech. 7. 10; 8. 17; 11. 14; Mal. 2. 10; 4. 6.
Fraud (see Dishonesty).
Freedom (see Liberty).

1 **Games**, Isa. 11. 8; 22. 18; 25. 11; Jer. 31. 4; Zech. 8. 5; 12. 3.
Gentiles (see Conversion of heathen).
2 **Glorifying God**, Isa. 18. 7; 24. 15; 25. 1, 3; Ezek. 28. 22; 39. 13; Isa. 42. 12; 45. 6; 60. 21; 61. 3; Mal. 2. 2; Dan. 5. 23.
3 **Gluttony**, Am. 6. 4–7; Isa. 22. 13; 56. 11, 12.
God, *Compassion of* (see Long-suffering of).
4 — *Condescension of*, Hos. 2. 6–23; Isa. 1. 18–20; 5. 4; Mic. 6. 1–9; Jer. 2. 5, 31; 3. 12–15; 4. 1–31; 7. 1–34; Ezek. 18. 25–32; 33. 10–20; Isa. 41. 21–24; 43. 1–19; 45. 11; 65. 1–16; Mal. 3. 7–15.
5 — *Creator* (see *of man*), Am. 4. 13; 5. 8; 9. 6; Isa. 37. 16; Jer. 5. 22; 10. 12, 13, 16; 27. 5; 31. 35; 32. 17; 33. 2; 51. 15, 16, 19; Isa. 40. 12, 26, 28; 41. 20; 42. 5, 15; 44. 24; 45. 7, 11, 12, 18; 48. 7, 13; 51. 13, 16; 54. 5; 65. 17, 18; 66. 2, 22; Zech. 12. 1; Jon. 1. 9.
6 — *Creator of man* (see *Creator*), Hos. 8. 14; Isa. 17. 7; 29. 16, 23; Jer. 27. 5; Isa. 42. 5; 43. 1, 7, 15; 44. 2, 21, 24; 45. 12, 18; 51. 13; 54. 5, 16; 64. 8; Zech. 12. 1; Mal. 2. 10; Dan. 5. 23.
7 — *Eternity and Self-existence of*, Isa. 9. 6; 26. 4; Mic. 5. 2; Hab. 1. 12; 3. 6; Jer. 10, 10; 17. 12; Isa. 40. 28; 41. 4; 43. 10, 13; 44. 6; 48. 12; 51. 9; 57. 15; 63. 12, 16; Dan. 4. 3, 34.
8 — *Faithfulness of*, Hos. 2. 19, 20; Isa. 11. 5; 25. 1; Mic. 7. 20; Jer. 1. 12; 29. 10; 31. 36, 37; 32. 40; 33. 14, 20–26; 51. 5; Ezek. 16. 60, 62; Isa. 42. 16; 44. 21; 49. 7, 15, 16; 51. 6, 8; 54. 7–10; 65. 16; Hag. 2. 5; Zech. 9. 11; Dan. 9. 4.
9 — *Fatherhood of* (see Adoption), Hos. 11. 1; Isa. 1. 2; 9. 6; Jer. 3. 4, 19; Isa. 63. 16; 64. 8; Zech. 8. 8; Mal. 1. 6; 2. 10.
— *Favour of* (see *Grace of*).
— *Forgiveness of* (see Pardon).
10 — *Foreknowledge of*, Jer. 1. 5; Isa. 41. 26; 42. 9; 44. 7; 45. 11; 46. 9, 10; 48. 3–6; Dan. 2. 28, 29, 45.
11 — *Glory of* (see Praise), Isa. 2. 10, 19, 21; 3. 8; 6. 1–5; 12. 6; 24. 15, 23; 26. 15; 28. 5; 29. 23; 30. 30; 33. 5; 35. 2; Hab. 3. 3–6; Jer. 13. 11; 17. 12; 33. 9; Ezek. 1. 26–28; 3. 12, 23; 8. 4; 9. 3; 10. 4, 18, 19; 11. 22, 23; 43. 2, 4, 5; 44. 4; Isa. 42. 8; 48. 11.
12 — *Goodness of* (see *Grace of*; *long-suffering of*; Poor, God's care for), Hos. 3. 5; Nah. 1. 7; Jer. 9. 24; 33. 11; Isa. 63. 7.
13 — *Grace of*, Am. 3. 2; Hos. 11. 1; 14. 4; Isa. 25. 4; 28. 5; 30. 26; 33. 17, 21, 22; 35. 4; Zeph. 3. 15–17; Nah. 1. 7; Jer. 15. 20; Ezek. 37. 27; 39. 29; 48. 35; Isa. 41. 10; 43. 5, 21; 44. 3; 54. 8; 55. 3; 60. 10; Hag. 1. 13; 2. 4; Zech. 2. 5; 8. 3; 9. 16; Joel 2. 26, 27; 3. 16, 17, 20, 21.
14 — *Guidance of* (see *Providence of*), Jer. 3. 4; Isa. 40. 11; 42. 16; 48. 17; 55. 4; 57. 18; 58. 11.
15 — *Holiness of* (see *Righteousness of*) Hos. 11. 9; Isa. 5. 16, 19, 24; 6. 3; 12. 6; 29. 19, 23; Hab. 1. 12; Jer. 2. 5; Ezek. 36. 21, 22; 39. 7, 25; Isa. 41. 14, 16; 43. 14, 15; 45. 11, 19; 47. 4; 49. 7; 52. 10; 57. 15; Dan. 4. 8.
16 — *Immutability of*, Hos. 13. 14; Isa. 31. 2; 40. 8, 28; 59. 1; Mal. 3. 6.
17 — *Incomparableness of*, Isa. 40. 12–31; 46. 5; 66. 1.
18 — *Incomprehensibility of* (see *Unsearchableness of*), Isa. 40. 12–31; 55. 8, 9.
19 — *Infinity of* (see *Incomprehensibility of*), Jer. 23. 24; Isa. 66. 1.
20 — *Jealousy of*, Isa. 30. 1, 2; 31. 1; Nah. 1. 2; Ezek. 23. 25; 36. 5; Isa. 42. 8; 48. 11; Zech. 1. 14; 8. 2; Joel 2. 18.
21 — *Justice of* (see *Holiness of*; Judgement; Punishment), Am. 8. 7; 9. 9; Hos. 6. 5; 10. 10; 14. 9; Isa. 1. 27; 3. 13, 14; 10. 17, 18; 26. 7, 8; 28. 17, 21; 30. 18, 30; 31. 2; 33. 22; Zeph. 3. 5; Nah. 1. 3, 6; Jer. 9. 24; 10. 10; 11. 20; 12. 1; 17. 10; 20. 12; 22. 3, 4; 31. 23; 32. 19; 50. 7; 51. 10;

Ezek. 6. 10; 7. 3, 8; 14. 23; 18. 25, 29, 30; 33. 7–20; 36. 19; Isa. 45. 21; 59. 15; 61. 8; Mal. 3. 2, 5, 18; Dan. 4. 37; 7. 9, 10; 9. 7, 14.
God, *Kingship of* (see *Sovereignty of*).
22 God, *Knowledge of* (see *Foreknowledge of*; Sin, known; Wisdom of), Am. 4. 13; 9. 2–4; Isa. 9. 6; 28. 29; 29. 15, 16; 37. 28; Jer. 5. 3; 10. 7; 11. 20; 17. 10; 20. 12; 23. 24; 32. 19; 51. 15; Ezek. 9. 9; 11. 5; Isa. 40. 13–28; 41. 4; 42. 9; 44. 7; 45. 4, 21; 46. 10; 48. 3–6; 66. 18; Dan. 2. 20, 22, 28.
23 — *Longsuffering of* (see *Condescension of*; *Love of*; *Mercy of*), Hos. 11. 8, 9; Isa. 5. 1–4; 30. 18; Mic. 6. 3–5; Hab. 1. 2–4; Jer. 2. 5, 31; 7. 13, 25; 11. 7; 12. 15; 15. 15; Ezek. 11. 13; 20. 17; Isa. 42. 14; 43. 22, 23; 48. 9, 11; Joel 2. 13; Mal. 3. 6.
24 — *Love of* (see *Longsuffering of*, &c.), Hos. 2. 19–23; 3. 1; 9. 10; 11. 1–4; 14. 4–8; Isa. 5. 7; 35. 10; 38. 17; Mic. 7. 19; Zeph. 3. 17; Jer. 3. 14, 15; 10. 16; 11. 15; 12. 7–13; 13. 11; 14. 9; 15. 16; 24. 7; 30. 22; 31. 1, 3, 14, 25, 32, 33; 32. 38, 41; 51. 19; Ezek. 16. 6–14; 34. 24, 30, 31; 37. 27; Isa. 40. 11; 41. 8–10; 43. 1–7; 44. 1, 2, 21, 22; 48. 12, 20; 49. 13–17; 51. 12, 16; 54. 5, 6, 10; 55. 3; 62. 4, 5; 63. 7–9, 11–19; 65. 19; 66. 13; Hag. 2. 23; Zech. 1. 14; 2. 8; 8. 8; 13. 9; Mal. 1. 2, 3; 3. 16, 17; Dan. 9. 18.
25 — *Mercy of* (see *Love of*, &c.), Am. 7. 3, 6; Hos. 1. 6, 7; 2. 14–23; 11. 8, 9; 14. 1–8; Isa. 1. 5, 18; 6. 7; 12. 1; 14. 1; 17. 6; 24. 13; 30. 18; 33. 24; Mic. 7. 18, 19; Zeph. 2. 7; Nah. 1. 3; Jer. 2. 9; 3. 1–22; 4. 27; 5. 10, 18; 9. 24; 29. 11; 30. 11; 31. 17, 20, 34, 37; 32. 18; 33. 8, 11; 36. 3, 7; 46. 28; 50. 20; 51. 5; Ezek. 11. 13; 14. 22, 23; 16. 6, 42, 63; 18. 23, 31, 32; 20. 11–44; 33. 11; 36. 25; Isa. 40. 2, 11; 41. 10, 13, 14; 43. 5; 44. 2, 3; 54. 1–11; 55. 7–9; 57. 1, 15–19; 60. 10; 65. 2; Zech. 1. 16, 17; 3. 4, 9; 8. 3; 10. 6; Mal. 3. 6; Joel 2. 13, 18; 3. 21; Jon. 4. 2, 10, 11; Dan. 4. 22–27.
God, *Might of* (see Power of).
26 — *Omnipotence of* (see *Creator; Power of; Preserver*), Isa. 26. 4.
— *Omnipresence of* (see *Presence of*).
— *Omniscience of* (see *Knowledge of; Wisdom of*).
— *Pardon of* (see Pardon).
— *Pity of* (see *Mercy of; Longsuffering of*).
27 — *Personality of*, Hos. 13. 14; Jer. 10. 6–10; 14. 22; 32. 27; Isa. 40. 25; 42. 8; 43. 10, 11; 44. 6, 8; 45. 5, 6, 18, 21, 22; 46. 5, 9; 48. 11; Mal. 2. 10.
28 — *Power of*, Am. 1. 2; 4. 13; 9. 5, 6; Isa. 14. 24–27; 17. 13; 19. 1; 23. 11; 26. 4; 27. 4; 31. 3; 33. 3. 13; Mic. 1. 3, 4; Nah. 1. 3–6; Hab. 3. 6, 9–11, 15; Jer. 5. 22; 10. 6, 12, 13; 20. 11; 27. 5; 32. 17, 27; 50. 44; 51. 15; Isa. 40. 10, 12, 22–28; 42. 13; 43. 13, 16, 17; 44. 27; 46. 10, 11; 48. 13; 49. 26; 50. 2; 51. 10; 52. 10; 59. 1; 60. 16; 63. 12; Zech. 9. 14; Joel 2. 11; 3. 16; Dan. 2. 20; 3. 17; 4. 35; 6. 27.
29 — *Presence of* (see *Preserver*), Am. 9. 2, 3; Jer. 23. 23, 24; 32. 18, 19; Isa. 57. 15; 66. 1; Jon. 1. 3, 4.
30 — *Preserver* (see Affliction, consolation in; Faith; God, *grace of*; God, *Saviour*; Poor, God's care of), Am. 5. 8, 9; 9. 9; Hos. 2. 18; 13. 10; Isa. 4. 5, 6; 10. 27; 14. 3, 32; 26. 7; 27. 3; 30. 21, 26; 31. 4, 5, 9; 32. 2, 18; 33. 16, 20; 35. 9; 37. 32, 35; Mic. 2. 13; Zeph. 3. 11, 20; Nah. 1. 7, 12, 13; Jer. 1. 19; 2. 3, 6, 20; 3. 4; 11. 4; 30. 7, 8, 11, 17; 31. 9, 10, 28; Ezek. 9. 4, 6; 11. 16; 34. 11–16, 22, 31; Isa. 40. 11, 29, 31; 42. 13, 16; 43. 3; 45. 2, 4; 46. 3, 4; 48. 17; 49. 9, 10, 17, 25; 51. 9, 10, 22; 52. 12; 54. 14–17; 57. 14; 58. 11; 59. 19; 63. 9; Zech. 2. 5, 8; 4. 6, 7, 10; 9. 8, 14, 16; 12. 8; Joel 2. 18; Dan. 3. 27, 28; 12. 1.
31 — *Providence of* (see *Preserver*), Am. 4. 6–12; 9. 13; Hos. 2. 8, 21, 22; 11. 3; 12. 12, 13; Isa. 1. 19; 10. 22, 23; 19. 17; 25. 4; 30. 23–26; 33. 16; Jer. 5. 24; 7. 34; 10. 13; 14. 22; 22. 15, 16; 27. 6; 30. 19; 31. 35; 33. 11; 51. 16; Ezek. 36. 9–11, 28–38; Isa. 43. 20; 46. 3, 4;

48. 17, 21; 49. 10; 51. 2; 55. 10; 61. 9; 62. 9; 65. 13, 23; Hag. 2. 19; Zech. 3. 7; 8. 12; 9. 17; 10. 1; Mal. 3. 10–12; Joel 2. 18–26; Jon. 4. 6; Dan. 5. 18; 6. 20–22.

32 **God**, *Providential overruling of* (see *Goodness of, Preserver*), Isa. 10. 5–7; 13. 3–5; Zeph. 1. 7; Jer. 51. 20–23; 52. 3; Ezek. 21. 26, 27; 29. 19, 20; Isa. 41. 2–4; 43. 14; 44. 28; 45. 1–5; 48. 14, 15; 54. 16, 17.

33 — *Providence of, misinterpreted* (see Blindness), Isa. 10. 7; Mic. 4. 12; Hab. 1. 2, 3, 12–17; Jer. 12. 1, 2; 50. 7; Mal. 3. 14; Dan. 12. 10;

— *Redeemer* (see *Saviour*).

34 — *Righteousness of*[1] (see *Holiness of; Justice of*), Hos. 14. 9; Mic. 7. 9; Zeph. 3. 5; Jer. 4. 2; 9. 24; 12. 1; Isa. 41. 10, 26; 42. 6, 21; 45. 13, 19, 23; 46. 13; 51. 6, 8; 56. 1, 6.

35 — *Saviour* (see *Preserver*), Hos. 1. 7; 13. 4, 9; Isa. 9. 4; 10. 27; 12. 2; 14. 25; 25. 4, 9; 26. 1; 33. 22; 35. 4; Nah. 1. 7, 13; Jer. 3. 23; 8. 22; 14. 8; 30. 17; 31. 11; 33. 6; 50. 34; Ezek. 36. 29; 37. 23; Isa. 41. 14; 43. 1, 3, 11, 14; 44. 6, 22–24; 45. 15, 17, 21, 22; 46. 12, 13; 47. 4; 48. 17, 20; 49. 7, 25, 26; 50. 2; 52. 3, 9, 10; 54. 5, 8; 59. 1; 60. 16, 18; 62. 12; 63. 8, 9; Zech. 9. 11, 12, 16; 10. 8; Joel 3. 16; Jon. 2. 9.

— *Self-existence of* (see *Eternity of*).

36 — *Sovereignty of* (see *Power of*), Am. 9. 7; Isa. 6. 5; 24. 13–15, 23; 32. 1; 33. 17, 22; 37. 16; Mic. 4. 7, 13; Zeph. 3. 15; Jer. 8. 19; 10. 7, 10; 18. 6; 27. 5, 6; 32. 27, 28; 46. 18; 48. 15; 51. 57; Ezek. 16. 50; 17. 24; 18. 4; 21. 26, 27; Isa. 40. 22, 23; 41. 21; 43. 15; 44. 6; 45. 7, 23; 54. 5; Hag. 2. 8; Zech. 9. 9; 14. 9, 16, 17; Mal. 1. 14; Dan. 2. 20, 21, 47; 4. 3, 17, 25, 32, 34–37; 5. 18, 26–28; 6. 26; 7. 14.

37 — *Truth of* (see *Faithfulness of; Righteousness of*), Isa. 25. 1; Jer. 10. 10; Isa. 65. 16; Dan. 4. 37; 9. 13.

— *Ubiquity of* (see *Presence of; Providence of*).

[1] See vol. iii, p. 325.

God, *Unchangeableness of* (see *Immutability of*).

38 — *Unsearchableness of* (see *Incomprehensibility of*), Nah. 1. 3; Jer. 23. 24; Isa. 40. 28; 45. 15; 55. 8, 9.

39 — *Wisdom of* (see *Knowledge of*), Isa. 28. 29; 31. 2; Jer. 10. 7, 12; 32. 19; 51. 15; Isa. 40. 13, 14; Dan. 2. 20–22, 28.

God-forgetfulness (see Backsliding; Godlessness).

40 **Godlessness** (see Impenitence; Prayerlessness; Reprobacy; Unbelief; Wicked), Hos. 5. 4; 7. 2–4; 8. 14; Isa. 1. 3, 4; 5. 12; 17. 10; 22. 11; 26. 11; 30. 1, 7, 9–13; 31. 1; 33. 14; Zeph. 1. 6, 12; Hab. 1. 3, 4; Jer. 2. 32; 5. 4, 5; 8. 7; Mal. 2. 17; 3. 8.

Godliness (see Holiness).

41 **Gospel, prophecies relating to the** (see Church, prophecies concerning the), Isa. 40. 1–11; 41. 27; 49. 13; 52. 7; 61. 1–3.

Gratitude (see Thankfulness).

Greed (see Covetousness).

Harlotry (see Whoredom).

Harmony (see Unity).

1 **Healing** (see Medicine), Hos. 5. 13; 6. 1; 7. 1; 11. 3; 14. 4; Isa. 3. 7; 6. 10; 19. 22; 30. 26; Nah. 3. 19; Jer. 3. 22; 6. 14; 8. 11, 15; 14. 19; 15. 18; 17. 14; 30. 13, 17; 33. 6; 51. 8, 9; Ezek. 34. 4; 47. 8–11; Isa. 53. 5; 57. 18, 19; Zech. 11. 16; Mal. 4. 2.

Heathen (see Conversion of).

2 **Heaven**, Isa. 14. 12, 13; 63. 15; Hab. 2. 20; Jer. 23. 24; 25. 30; Zech. 2. 13; Jon. 1. 9; Dan. 4. 37; 5. 23.

3 — *Physical Heavens*, Am. 9. 2, 6; Isa. 13. 5, 10, 13; 34. 4, 5; 37. 16; Zeph. 1. 5; Nah. 3. 16; Jer. 7. 18; 8. 2, 7; 10. 2; 19. 13; 31. 37; 32. 17; 33. 25; 44. 17, 18, 25; 49. 36; 51. 9, 15, 48, 53; Obad. 4; Ezek. 8. 3; 32. 7, 8; Isa. 40. 12; 51. 6, 13, 16; 55. 10; 66. 1; Hag. 1. 10; Zech. 2. 6; 5. 9; 8. 12; Mal. 3. 10; Dan. 8. 8, 10; 9. 12; 11. 4; 12. 7.

4 — *New Heavens*, Isa. 65. 17; 66. 22.

5 **Heredity** (see Sin, consequences), Isa. 14. 20; Jer. 31. 29; Ezek. 18. 2, 3, 19, 20; Isa. 48. 8; 65. 6, 7.

Highway (see Way).
Hire (see Wages).
6 **Holiness** (see Ablution; Desire; God, Holiness of; Righteous), Am. 5. 14, 15; Hos. 2. 19, 20; Isa. 1. 27; 4. 3; 23. 18; 26. 2, 8, 9; 32. 17; 35. 8; Mic. 6. 8; Zeph. 2. 3; Jer. 31. 34; 33. 8, 9; 50. 20; Obad. 17; Isa. 48. 2; 51. 7; 52. 1, 11; 57. 2; 60. 1, 21; Zech. 14. 20, 21.
7 **Holy Spirit**[1], Isa. 11. 2; 28. 6; 30. 1; 32. 15; Mic. 2. 7; 3. 8; Ezek. 11. 19; 36. 27; 37. 9, 14; 39. 29; Isa. 40. 13; 42. 1; 44. 3; 48. 16; 59. 19, 21; 61. 1; 63. 10–14; Hag. 2. 5; Zech. 4. 1–7; 7. 12; 12. 10; Joel 2. 28, 29.
8 — *Withdrawn*, Hos. 4. 17; 5. 6; 9. 12; Jer. 7. 29; 16. 5.
9 **Homicide**, Hos. 1. 4; 4. 2; 6. 8, 9; 12. 14; Isa. 1. 15, 21; 26. 21; 33. 15; Mic. 3. 10; 7. 2; Nah. 3. 1; Hab. 2. 8, 10, 12, 17; Jer. 2. 34; 7. 6, 9; 19. 4; 22. 3, 17; 26. 15, 16; Ezek. 9. 9; 18. 10; 22. 3, 6, 9, 12, 13, 27; 24. 9; 33. 25; 35. 6; Isa. 59. 3, 7.
10 **Honesty** (see Dishonesty; Integrity; Righteousness), Isa. 33. 15, 16; Ezek. 45. 9, 10.
11 **Hope**, Hos. 2. 15; Isa. 38. 18; Jer. 2. 25; 14. 8; 17. 7, 13; 18. 12; 29. 11; 31. 17; 50. 7; Ezek. 13. 6; 19. 5; 33. 10; 37. 11; Isa. 57. 10; Zech. 9. 12.
Human sacrifices (see Children, sacrifice of).
12 **Humility** (see Meekness), Isa. 6. 5; Mic. 6. 8; Zeph. 3. 11, 12; Jer. 45. 5; Ezek. 16. 63; Isa. 51. 1; 57. 15; 66. 2; Zech. 11. 7, 11.
13 **Hunger or thirst, spiritual** (see Desire), Am. 8. 11–13; Mic. 3. 7; Isa. 8. 20, 21; 44. 3; 55. 1, 2.
14 **Husband, Divine**, Hos. 2. 2, 7, 16, 19, 20; Jer. 2. 2; 3. 14; 31. 32; Isa. 54. 5, 6; 62. 4, 5; Cf. Mal. 2. 11.
15 **Hypocrisy** (see Insincerity; Treachery), Am. 5. 21–27; Hos. 6. 4; 7. 14, 16; 8. 2, 3, 13; 9. 4; 10. 1; 11. 12; Isa. 1. 11–15, 23; 9. 17; 10. 6; 29. 13–16; 32. 5, 6; 33. 14; Mic. 3. 11; 7. 3, 5; Jer. 3. 10, 11; 5. 2; 6. 20; 7. 4, 8–10, 21; 9. 4. 8; 12. 2; 14. 12; 17. 9; 42. 20; Obad. 7; Ezek. 5. 11; 8. 18; 14. 4, 7, 8; 20. 39; 33. 30–33; Isa. 48. 1, 2; 58. 2, 5; 61. 8; 65. 5; 66. 3; Zech. 7. 5, 6; 13. 6; Mal. 1. 6–14; 2. 13; 3. 14.

1 **Idleness** (see Sloth), Ezek. 16. 49; Isa. 56. 10.
Idolatry and Idols. I. *OBJECTS OF IDOLATROUS WORSHIP.*
2 — (1) *The heavenly bodies*, Am. 5. 26; Zeph. 1. 4, 5; Jer. 7. 18; 8. 2; 19. 4, 13; 44. 17–19; Ezek. 8. 15, 16.
3 — (2) *Beasts*, Am. 8. 14; Hos. 8. 5, 6; 10. 5, 10; 13. 2; Ezek. 8. 10.
4 — (3) *Idols* (*tsir, a form*), Isa. 45. 16; (*atsab, toil or grief*), Hos. 4. 17; 8. 4; 13. 2; 14. 8; Isa. 10. 11; Mic. 1. 7; Jer. 50. 2; Isa. 46. 1; Zech. 13. 2; (*etsab, toil or grief*), Jer. 22. 28; (*otseb, toil or grief*), Isa. 48. 5; (*el, a mighty one*), Isa. 44. 10, 15, 17; 45. 20; 57. 5; (*elil, nought*), Isa. 2. 8, 18, 20; 10. 10, 11; 19. 1, 3; 31. 7; Hab. 2. 18; (*gillulim, rolling things*), Jer. 50. 2; Ezek. 6. 4–13; 8. 10; 14. 3–7; 16. 36; 18. 6, 12, 15; 20. 7–39; 22. 4; 23. 7, 30–49; 30. 13; 33. 25; 36. 18, 25; 37. 23; 44. 10, 12; (*emah, terror*), Jer. 50. 38; (*aven, vanity*), Isa. 66. 3; (*maskith, image, imagery*), Ezek. 8. 12; (*matstsebah, a thing set up*), Hos. 3. 4; 10. 1, 2; Mic. 5. 13; (*chammanim, sun-images*), Isa. 17. 8; 27. 9; Ezek. 6. 4, 6; (*teraphim, household gods*), Hos. 3. 4; Ezek. 21. 21; Zech. 10. 2; (*semel, a figure*), Ezek. 8. 3, 5; (*tselem, an image*), Am. 5. 26; Ezek. 7. 20; 16. 17; 23. 14; Dan. 2. 31–35; 3. 1–18; (*pesel graven image*), Hos. 11. 2; Isa. 10. 10; 21. 9; 30. 22; Mic. 1. 7; 5. 13; Nah. 1. 14; Hab. 2. 18; Jer. 8. 19; 10. 14; 50. 38; 51. 17, 47, 52; Isa. 40. 19, 20; 42. 8, 17; 44. 9, 10, 15, 17; 45. 20; 48. 5; (*massekah, molten image*), Hos. 2 8; 13. 2; Isa. 30. 22; Nah. 1. 14; Hab. 2. 18; Isa. 42. 17; (*nesek molten image*), Jer. 10. 14; 51. 17; Isa. 41. 29; 48. 5.
5 — (4) *Other objects of worship*, Hab

[1] See p. 215, § 1.

1. 11, 16; Ezek. 8. 10; (*elohim, gods*), Hos. 3. 1; 14. 3; Isa. 21. 9; 36. 18–20; 37. 12, 19; Mic. 4. 5; Zeph. 2. 11; Nah. 1. 14; Jer. 1. 16; 2. 11, 28; 5. 7, 19; 7. 6, 9, 18; 11. 10, 12, 13; 13. 10; 16. 11, 13, 20; 19. 4, 13; 22. 9; 25. 6; 32. 29; 35. 15; 43. 12, 13; 44. 3, 5, 8, 15; 46. 25; 48. 35; Isa. 41. 23; 42. 17; Jon. 1. 5; Dan. 1. 2; 5. 4–23; 11. 8.

6 — (5) *Baal* (*=lord, husband, a name given to any local god, often symbolized by a stone pillar*), Hos. 2. 8, 13, 16, 17; 11. 2; 13. 1; Zeph. 1. 4; Jer. 2. 8, 23; 7. 9; 9. 14; 11. 13, 17; 12. 16; 19. 5; 23. 13, 27; 32. 29, 35.

— (6) *Asherim* ('*Probably the wooden symbols of a goddess Asherah*', Ex. 34. 13 mgn.), Isa. 17. 8; 27. 9; Mic. 5. 14; Jer. 17. 2.

II. *MODES AND ACCESSORIES OF IDOLATROUS WORSHIP.*

7 — *High places*, Am. 7. 9; Hos. 10. 8; Isa. 1. 29; 15. 2; 16. 12; 36. 7; Jer. 2. 20; 3. 26; 7. 31; 12. 12; 13. 27; 17. 3; 19. 5; 26. 18; 32. 35; 48. 35; Ezek. 6. 3, 6, 13; 16. 16, 24, 25, 31, 39; 20. 29; 36. 2; 43. 7; Isa. 57. 7.

8 — *Altars*, Am. 2. 8; 3. 14; Hos. 4. 19; 8. 11; 10. 1, 2, 8; 12. 11; Isa. 17. 8; 27. 9; 36. 7; Jer. 11. 13; 17. 1, 2; Ezek. 6. 4–13; Isa. 65. 3.

9 — *Sanctuaries*, Am. 7. 9; Hos. 8. 14; Isa. 16. 12; Jer. 51. 51; Ezek. 28. 18; Joel 3. 5.

10 — *Sacrifices offered*, Hos. 2. 8; 4. 19; 11. 2; 12. 11; 13. 2; Jer. 48. 35; Ezek. 6. 13; 16. 18, 19; 20. 28; Isa. 57. 6; 65. 3.

11 — *Human sacrifices offered*, Hos. 13. 2; Mic. 6. 7; Jer. 7. 31; 19. 4–6; 32. 35; Ezek. 16. 20, 21, 36, 38; 20. 26, 31; 23. 37–39; Isa. 57. 5.

12 — *Incense burnt*, Hos. 2. 13; 11. 2; Jer. 1. 16; 7. 9; 11. 12, 13, 17; 19. 4; 44. 3, 5, 8, 15–19, 25; 48. 35; Ezek. 8. 11; 16. 18; 20. 28; 23. 41; Isa. 65. 3.

13 — *Meal offerings*, Hos. 2. 8; Jer. 7. 18; 44. 19; Ezek. 16. 19; Isa. 57. 6.

14 — *Libations*, Jer. 7. 18; 19. 13; 32. 29; 44. 17–19, 25; Ezek. 20. 28; Isa. 57. 6; 65. 11.

15 — *Prayers*, Isa. 44. 17; 45. 20; 46. 7; Jon. 1. 5; Dan. 5. 4, 23.

16 — *Cutting flesh*, Jer. 16. 6; 41. 5; 47. 5; 48. 37.

— *Kissing*, Hos. 13. 2.

17 — *Chemarim* (*priests of the heathen sanctuaries, see* 2 Kings 23. 5), Hos. 10. 5; Zeph. 1. 4.

18 — *Tithes and gifts*, Am. 4. 4, 5; Joel 3. 5; Dan. 11. 38.

III. *RESULTS OF IDOLATROUS WORSHIP.*

19 — *Desecration of Temple*, Jer. 7. 10, 11, 30; 11. 15; 23. 11; 32. 34; Ezek. 5. 11; 7. 20; 8. 3–16; 23. 39; 36. 18; 44. 7.

20 — *Licentiousness*, Am. 2. 7; 4. 3; Hos. 4. 12–19; 5. 3; 9. 10; Mic. 1. 7; Jer. 13. 27; 23. 13, 14; Ezek. 16. 17, 24, 25, 43; 23. 1–44; Isa. 57. 7, 8.

21 — *Consultation with idols*, Ezek. 21. 21.

22 Idolatry, *folly of*, Hos. 8. 5, 6; 10. 6; Isa. 37. 19; Hab. 2. 18, 19; Jer. 2. 28; 3. 24; 10. 3–16; 11. 12; 14. 22; 16. 19, 20; 48. 13; 51. 17, 18; Isa. 40. 12–26; 41. 21–24, 29; 43. 12; 44. 9–20; 45. 16, 20; 46. 1, 2, 6, 7; 47. 12–15; 57. 13; Zech. 10. 2; Dan. 5. 23.

23 — *prophecies relating to*, Hos. 10. 2; Isa. 2. 18–20; 17. 7–11; 19. 1; 21. 9; 27. 9; 30. 22; 31. 7; Mic. 5. 13; Zeph. 2. 11; Jer. 10. 11, 15; 43. 12, 13; 46. 25; 50. 2; 51. 44, 47, 52; Ezek. 30. 13; 43. 7–9; Zech. 13. 2; Dan. 5. 1–31.

24 — *punishment of and warnings against*, Am. 3. 14; 4. 4, 5; 5. 5; Hos. 1. 2; 2. 2–5, 13, 17; 4. 12–19; 5. 1–3; 8. 4–14; 10. 1–15; 11. 2; 13. 1–3; 14. 8; Isa. 1. 29, 30; 2. 8–21; 30. 22; Mic. 1. 5–7; 5. 13, 14; 6. 16; Zeph. 1. 3–5; Jer. 1. 16; 2. 20; 3. 1–11; 7. 17, 18, 30; 8. 2, 19; 9. 14; 10. 3–16; 13. 9–27; 16. 11; 18. 13–15; 19. 4, 5; 22. 9; 23. 27; 32. 35; 44. 3–5; 48. 7; Ezek. 6. 3–9, 13; 7. 19, 20; 8. 5–18; 9. 5–10; 14. 1–23; 16. 15–63; 20. 7–44; 22. 4; 23. 2–49; 44. 10–12; Isa. 42. 17; 44. 11; 45. 16; 46. 2; 57. 3–13; 65. 3, 4; 66. 3, 4, 17; Mal. 2. 11–13; Jon. 2. 8.

25 **Ignorance** (see Knowledge), Jer. 10. 8, 14, 23; 14. 18.
26 — *sins of*, Hos. 4. 6, 14; 11. 3; 13. 13; Isa. 1. 3; 5. 13; Jer. 4. 22; 5. 4; 8. 7; 9. 3, 6; Ezek. 3. 18; 33. 6–8; 45. 20.
27 **Immortality**[1] (see Resurrection; Righteous, promises to; Wicked, punishment of), Isa. 14. 9, 10; 25. 7, 8; 26. 19; 38. 18, 19; Ezek. 32. 31; 37. 1–10; Dan. 12. 2, 3.
28 **Impenitence** (see Affliction, obduracy in; Apostasy; Backsliding; Blindness; Infidelity; Unbelief), Am. 4. 6–12; 6. 1; Hos. 4. 17; 5. 4; 7. 10, 13–16; 11. 3, 7; Isa. 1. 5; 9. 13; 26. 10; 28. 12; 32. 9–14; Zeph. 3. 1, 2, 7; Jer. 2. 25; 3. 7–9; 5. 3, 21–24; 6. 10, 16–19; 7. 13–28; 8. 4–22; 11. 8; 12. 11; 13. 15–17, 27; 14. 10–18; 15. 6, 7; 16. 12; 17. 23; 18. 12; 19. 15; 22. 21; 25. 3, 4; 26. 4, 5; 29. 19; 32. 23, 33; 35. 14–17; 36. 22–24; 37. 2; 42. 13; 44. 10, 16, 17; Ezek. 2. 4–7; 3. 7–11; 12. 2; 20. 8, 13, 21; 24. 13; 33. 4, 5, 9; Isa. 42. 22–25; 46. 12; 48. 4, 8; 57. 11; 59. 2; 65. 12, 15; 66. 4; Hag. 2. 17; Mal. 2. 2–17; Dan. 5. 22; 9. 5–13.
29 **Impotence of man** (see Divine Punishment, no escape from), Hos. 5. 8; Isa. 2. 10–22; 3. 12; 5. 13–15; 7. 8, 9; 10. 3, 4; 13. 6–8; 14. 10, 19, 20; 19. 11–15; 21. 3, 4; 26. 18; 33. 7; Zeph. 1. 14; Nah. 2. 10; 3. 12, 13; Jer. 4. 9; 6. 24; 30. 6; 48. 41; 49. 22, 24; 50. 37, 43; 51. 30; Ezek. 7. 17; 21. 7; 32. 18–32; Isa. 41. 28; 51. 18.
30 **Imprecations**, Hos. 9. 14; Jer. 11. 20; 12. 13; 15. 15; 17. 18; 18. 21–23; 20. 12, 14–18.
Impurity (see Adultery; Lewdness; Whoredom).
31 **Incest**, Am. 2. 7; Ezek. 22. 11.
Indecision (see Character).
Indifference (see Infidelity).
32 **Infidelity** (see Presumption; Scepticism; Unbelief), Hos. 7. 5, 13, 15; 11. 12; Isa. 3. 8; 5. 18–24; 10. 15; 28. 9–22; 29. 15, 16, 20; Mic. 7. 10; Zeph. 1. 6, 12; Jer. 2. 31; 5. 12, 13; 17. 15; 43. 2; 48. 26, 42; 50. 24, 29; Ezek. 8. 12; 9. 9; 11. 3; 12. 22, 27; 18. 2, 29; 20. 49; 33. 17, 20, 30–32; 36. 2; Isa. 45. 9, 10; 47. 10, 11; 57. 4–11; Mal. 1. 7; 2. 17; 3. 13–15; Joel 2. 17; Dan. 3. 15; 7. 25; 11. 36, 37.
Influence, Evil (see Example).
33 **Ingratitude**, Am. 2. 9–12; 3. 1, 2; Hos. 2. 8, 9; 4. 7; 7. 13–16; 11. 1–4; 12. 9–11; 13. 4–6; Isa. 1. 2, 3; 5. 4; Mic. 6. 3–5; Jer. 2. 6, 17, 21, 31, 32; 5. 7–9, 24; 8. 7; Ezek. 16. 17–22; 20. 10–26; Isa. 43. 22–28; 63. 11–13; Dan. 5. 18–21.
34 **Inhumanity** (see Oppression; Persecution; Violence), Am. 1. 3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2. 1, 6, 7; Hos. 10. 14; 13. 16; Isa. 13. 15–18; Mic. 2. 9; Nah. 3. 1, 10, 19; Hab. 1. 6–17; 2. 12; Jer. 29. 22; 39. 6, 7; 52. 10; Obad. 10–14; Ezek. 22. 2; 24. 6–9; 34. 4; Zech. 14. 2; Dan. 3. 21; 6. 16.
35 **Injustice** (see Dishonesty; Justice; Oppression), Am. 2. 6–8; 5. 7, 11, 12; 6. 12; Isa. 5. 23; 10. 1, 2; 26. 10; Zeph. 3. 5; Hab. 1. 4; Jer. 5. 1–6, 26–31; 22. 3.
36 **Insincerity** (see Hypocrisy), Isa. 1. 12; 29. 13; Jer. 12. 2; Ezek. 33. 30–33; Isa. 58. 2.
Inspiration (see Holy Spirit; Prophets; Word of the Lord).
Instability (see Character).
37 **Instincts or Habits of Animals**: Am. 3. 4; 6. 12; 9. 3; Hos. 4. 16; 5. 14; 7. 11; 8. 9; Isa. 1. 3; 5. 17, 26, 29; 7. 18, 19; 10. 14; 11. 7, 8; 13. 14, 21; 27. 10; 30. 23, 24; 31. 5; 32. 14; 33. 4; 34. 11–16; 38. 14; Mic. 1. 8; 5. 8; 7. 17; Zeph. 3. 3; Nah. 2. 11–13; 3. 16, 17; Hab. 1 8, 14; Jer. 2. 24, 30; 4. 7, 13, 25; 5. 6, 8, 27; 7. 33; 8. 7, 16, 17; 10. 22; 11. 19; 12. 8, 9; 13. 23; 14. 5, 6; 15. 3; 16. 4, 16; 17. 11; 31. 18; 33. 12; 34. 20; 48. 28, 40; 49. 16, 19; 50. 6, 8, 11, 17, 19, 39; 51. 27, 37, 38; Obad. 4; Ezek. 7. 16; 19. 2–9; 22. 25; 25. 5; 29. 5; 31. 13; 32. 4; 34. 2–25; 39. 4, 17; Isa. 40. 11, 31; 53. 7; 56. 10; 59. 5, 11; 60. 8; 63. 13, 14; 65. 10, 25; Zech. 10. 8.

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38 **Instruction** (see Correction), Isa. 8. 11; 28. 26; Jer. 6. 8; 31. 19; Isa. 40. 14; Dan. 11. 33.
39 — *by object lessons* (see Instincts of animals; Parables; Symbols), Am. 2. 13; 3. 3–8, 12; 5. 19; 6. 9, 10, 12; 7. 1, 4, 7, 8; 8. 1; 9. 1; Isa. 8. 18; 20. 2, 3; Jer. 13. 1–11; 19. 1–12; 24. 1–9; 28. 10–17; Ezek. 4. 1–17; 5. 1–17; 12. 3–20; 21. 2, 6, 7; 24. 3–14, 16–27; 37. 16–22.
Instruments (see Agents).
40 **Integrity** (see Honesty; Justice), Hos. 2. 19, 20; Isa. 26. 7; 33. 15, 16; Mic. 6. 8; Jer. 5. 1; 21. 12; 22. 3; 35. 12–17; Ezek. 18. 5, 9; Isa. 56. 1; Zech. 7. 9; Mal. 2. 6; Dan. 1. 18–20; 6. 4.
Intemperance (see Drunkenness).
41 **Intercession**, Mic. 7. 14; Jer. 7. 16; 10. 23, 24; 11. 14; 14. 7–22; 15. 1; 18. 20; 29. 7; Ezek. 9. 8; 11. 13; 22. 30; Isa. 59. 16; 62. 1, 6, 7; 63. 17–19; 64. 8–12; 65. 8; Joel 2. 17; Dan. 9. 3–19.
42 **Intercessional influence**, Am. 7. 2–6; Isa. 37. 35; Jer. 5. 1; Ezek. 14. 14–20.
43 **Interest**, Isa. 24. 2; Jer. 15. 10; Ezek. 18. 8–17; 22. 12.
Internecine strife (see Anarchy).
44 **Intolerance**, Isa. 65. 3; Dan. 3. 6–23; 6. 5–16.

1 **Jealousy, Divine**, Isa. 30. 1–7; 31. 1, 3; Zeph. 1. 18; 3. 8; Nah. 1. 2; Ezek. 16. 42; 23. 25; 36. 5, 6; 38. 19; Zech. 1. 14; 8. 2; Joel 2. 18.
2 **Jehovah** (see God), Godhead of, Isa. 43. 12; 44. 8; 45. 5, 14, 18, 21, 22; 46. 9.
3 **Joy** (see Praise; Thankfulness), Isa. 9. 3; 12. 1–6; 25. 9; 29. 19; 30. 29; 35. 1, 2, 10; Zeph. 3. 14; Nah. 1. 15; Hab. 3. 18; Jer. 15. 16; 31. 12–14, 25, 26; 33. 6, 9, 11; 51. 48; Isa. 41. 16; 44. 23; 45. 25; 48. 20; 49. 13; 51. 3, 11; 52. 7–9; 54. 1; 55. 12; 56. 7; 61. 3, 7, 10; 65. 14, 18, 19; 66. 10–14; Zech. 10. 7.
4 **Judge**, Isa. 1. 23; 5. 22, 23; 28. 5, 6; Mic. 3. 11; 7. 3; Zeph. 3. 3; Ezek. 44. 24; Dan. 9. 12.
5 **Judgement, The** (see God, justice of), Am. 4. 12; Isa. 2. 10–21; 24. 1–12, 17–23; Ezek. 18. 20–28; Dan. 7. 9, 10, 22, 26.
6 — *according to opportunity and works* (see Punishment, according to deeds), Am. 3. 2; Hos. 4. 9; 12. 2; Isa. 3. 10, 11; 5. 15, 16; 24. 2; Jer. 17. 10, 11; 32. 19; Ezek. 7. 3, 4, 27; 9. 4–6; 16. 59; 18. 4–9, 19–32; 33. 18–20; 39. 24; Isa. 59. 18.
7 **Judgements**, *misunderstood*, Jer. 5. 19; 13. 22; 16. 10, 11; 22. 8, 9; Joel 2. 17.
8 — *no escape from* (see Punishment, Divine, no escape from), Am. 5. 16–20; 9. 1–4; Isa. 2. 10, 12–21; Ezek. 14. 13, 14.
9 — *executed by terrestrial agency* (see Agents), Amos 1. 2; Hos. 6. 5; Jer. 23. 29.
10 — *design of* (see Affliction, design of; Punishment), Isa. 26. 9, 16; 37. 1–4; Ezek. 6. 7; 7. 4; 11. 11, 12; 12. 16, 20; 13. 9, 14, 21, 23; 14. 7, 8; 15. 7; 16. 62; 20. 38–48; 21. 5; 22. 16; 23. 49; 24. 24; 25. 5, 7, 11; 26. 6; 29. 9, 16; 30. 8, 25, 26; 33. 29; 38. 22, 23; Dan. 4. 17–34.
11 **Justice** (see Injustice), Am. 5. 7, 11, 12, 15, 24; 6. 12; Hos. 12. 6; Isa. 1. 17; 5. 7; 9. 7; 11. 3–5; 16. 5; 32. 1, 2; Mic. 6. 8; 7. 3; Hab. 1. 4; Jer. 22. 1–4; 33. 15, 16; Ezek. 45. 9; Isa. 56. 1; 59. 8, 14; 61. 8; Zech. 7. 9; 8. 16.
12 **Justification**, Isa. 6. 7; Jer. 23. 6; Isa. 45. 24, 25; 46. 12; 50. 8; 51. 5, 6; 53. 11; 54. 17; 56. 1; 61. 10; Zech. 3. 4, 9.

Killing (see Homicide).
1 **Kindness** (see Mercy), Hos. 2. 19, 20; Isa. 11. 13; 21. 14; Mic. 6. 8; Isa. 54. 8; 58. 6, 7; Zech. 6. 14; 7. 9, 10; 8. 17.
2 **Kingdom of God** (see Church), Am. 9. 11, 12; Hos. 2. 14 23; Isa. 2. 2–5; 4. 2, 3; 9. 1–7; 11. 1–10; 24. 16; 25. 6–8; 29. 18, 19; 32. 15–18; 35. 1–10; Mic. 4. 1–4; Zeph. 2. 11; 3. 9–20; Hab. 2. 14; Jer. 3. 16–18; 4. 2; 5. 18; 16. 19–21; 31. 34; 33. 16, 22; Obad. 21; Ezek. 17. 22–24; 47. 1–12; Isa. 40. 4–11; 42. 3, 4; 45. 8, 23, 24; 49. 1–26; 51. 6–8; 53. 10–12;

54. 1–3; 55. 5, 10–13; 56. 3–8; 59. 19–21; 60. 1–9; 65. 17–25; 66. 7–23; Hag. 2. 7–9; Zech. 2. 10, 11; 4. 10; 6. 15; 8. 20–23; 9. 1, 10; 14. 8–21; Mal. 1. 11; Joel 2. 28; Dan. 2. 35, 44; 7. 9–27; 12. 3.

3 **Kingship, Messianic**[1] (see Church, Head of), Hos. 3. 5; Isa. 9. 6, 7; 11. 1, 10; 32. 1; 33. 17; Mic. 5. 2, 4; Jer. 23. 5, 6; 30. 9; 33. 17; Ezek. 21. 27; 34. 23; 37. 24; Isa. 40. 10; 52. 7, 13; 55. 3, 4; Zech. 6. 12, 13; 9. 9, 10; Dan. 7. 13, 14; 8. 25; 9. 25.

4 **Knowledge** (see Ignorance; Wisdom), Hos. 4. 6; Isa. 11. 9; Hab. 2. 14; Mal. 2. 7; Dan. 12. 4.

1 **Land-grabbing**, Am. 2. 7; Hos. 5. 10; Isa. 5. 8; Mic. 2. 2.

2 — *sale of*, Jer. 32. 7–16, 25, 44; Ezek. 46. 18.

Leaders (see Corruption of).

3 **Lees, settled on**, Isa. 25. 6; Zeph. 1. 12; Jer. 48. 11.

4 **Lewdness** (see Adultery; Whoredom), Am. 2. 7; Hos. 2. 10; 4. 5–14; 6. 9; Jer. 11. 15; 13. 27; Ezek. 16. 15–58; 22. 9, 11; 23. 2–49; 24. 13.

Lex Talionis (see Retaliation).

5 **Liars** (see Deceit; Falsehood, &c.), Hos. 4. 2; Isa. 9. 15; 28. 15, 17; 30. 9; 32. 7; Mic. 3. 7; Jer. 7. 4, 8; 16. 19; 23. 14, 26; 29. 23; Ezek. 13. 6–9, 19; Isa. 44. 25; Jon. 2. 8; Dan. 2. 9.

6 **Liberality** (see Almsdoing), Isa. 32. 5–8; 60. 7, 9, 17; Hag. 1. 8; 2. 18, 19; Mal. 3. 10–12.

7 **Liberty**, Jer. 34. 8–17; Ezek. 46. 17; Isa. 45. 13; 58. 6; 61. 1.

Licentiousness (see Lewdness).

8 **Life**, *brief and uncertain* (see Death), Isa. 2. 22; 38. 12; 40. 6, 7, 24; 50. 9; 51. 8, 12; 64. 6.

— *everlasting* (see Immortality).

9 — *from God*, Isa. 38. 16–20.

10 — *long*, Isa. 65. 20; Zech. 8. 4.

11 **Lukewarmness** (see Backsliding; Blindness; Impotence), Hos. 6. 4; 10. 2; Jer. 9. 3; Ezek. 13. 5; 16. 30; 22. 30; Hag. 1. 2–11; 2. 15, 16.

Luxury (see Prosperity; Worldliness).

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Lying (see Liars).

1 **Malice** (see Strife), Am. 1. 11; Isa. 29. 20, 21; 32. 6; Mic. 2. 1; Jer. 20. 10; 26. 8, 11; 36. 26; 52. 10, 11; Obad. 12; Ezek. 18. 18; 25. 3–17; 26. 2; 35. 5; 36. 2; Isa. 59. 4–7; Zech. 7. 10; 8. 17; Dan. 6. 4–9.

Manliness (see Courage; Integrity).

2 **Marriage** (see Divorce; Husband), Hos. 1. 2; 2. 7, 19, 20; Jer. 3. 14; 29. 6; 31. 32; Isa. 54. 5; 62. 4, 5; Mal. 2. 11, 13–16.

3 **Measure, just** (see Dishonesty), Am. 8. 5; Hos. 12. 7; Mic. 6. 10–12; Ezek. 45. 10.

4 **Medicine** (see Healing), Isa. 1. 6; 38. 21; Jer. 8. 22; 30. 13; 46. 11; 51. 8, 9; Ezek. 30. 21.

5 **Meekness** (see Humility; Kindness), Am. 2. 7; 5. 12; Isa. 11. 4; 29. 19; 32. 7; Zeph. 2. 3; 3. 12; Isa. 42. 2; 53. 7; 61. 1; Zech. 11. 7, 11.

6 **Mercy** (see Kindness; Pity; God, mercy of), Hos. 2. 19, 20, 23; 4. 1; 6. 6; 10. 12; 12. 6; 14. 3; Isa. 16. 5; Mic. 6. 8; 7. 18; Jer. 6. 23; 50. 42; Isa. 55. 3; Zech. 7. 9; Jon. 2. 8; 4. 11.

7 **Messiah**[1] (see Church, Head of), *Birth of*, Isa. 7. 14; 9. 6; 11. 1; Mic. 5. 2, 3; Jer. 23. 5.

8 — *Compassion of*, Isa. 40. 11; 42. 3; 53. 4; 63. 7–9.

9 — *Death of*, Isa. 53. 1–12; Zech. 12. 10; 13. 7; Dan. 9. 26.

10 — *Divinity of*, Hos. 1. 7 (Tit. 2. 13); Isa. 6. 1–3 (John 12. 41); Isa. 7. 14 (Mat. 1. 23); Isa. 8. 13, 14 (1 Pet. 2. 8); Isa. 9. 6; Mic. 5. 2, 3 (Mat. 2. 6; Luke 2. 11); Jer. 23. 5, 6 (1 Cor. 1. 30); Isa. 40. 3, 9, 10 (Mat. 3. 3); Isa. 40. 10, 11 (Heb. 13. 20); Isa. 40. 28 (John 1. 3; Col. 1. 16); Isa. 44. 6 (Rev. 1. 17); Isa. 48. 12–16 (Rev. 22. 13); Ezek. 34. 23; 37. 24 (John 10. 11–14; 1 Pet. 2. 25; 5. 4; Heb. 13. 20); Zech. 13. 7 (Mark 14. 27; Phil. 2. 6); Mal. 3. 1 (Mat. 11. 10; Luke 7. 27); Joel 2. 32 (1 Cor. 1. 2); Dan. 10. 7 (Rev. 1. 15).

11 — *Eternity of*, Isa. 9. 6; Mic. 5. 2.

12 — *Holiness of*, Isa. 11. 4, 5; 32.

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1; Jer. 23. 5; 33. 15, 16; Isa. 42. 2; 49. 7; 50. 5; 53. 9; 59. 17; Zech. 9. 9.
13 — *Humility of* (see Meekness of), Zech. 9. 9 (Mat. 21. 5).
14 — *Judge*, Isa. 2. 4; 11. 3, 4; Mic. 4. 3; 5. 1; Jer. 33. 15; Mal. 3. 2, 3.
15 — *Justice of* (see Holiness of), Zech. 9. 9.
— *King* (see Kingship, Messianic).
— *Kingdom of* (see Kingdom of God).
16 — *Mediation of*, Isa. 53. 10–12; Zech. 1. 12, 13; 6. 13.
17 — *Meekness of* (see Humility of), Isa. 42. 2; 50. 5, 6; 52. 13; 53. 7 (Acts 8. 32).
18 — *Mission of*, Mic. 5. 2; Isa. 42. 6, 7; 61. 1–3; Zech. 13. 1; Mal. 3. 2, 3; Dan. 9. 24, 27.
19 — *Names, appellations and titles of*, Isa. 7. 14; 8. 14; 9. 6; 11. 10; 28. 16; 30. 29; 33. 22; Mic. 5. 2; Jer. 23. 5, 6; 30. 9; 33. 16; Ezek. 34. 29; Isa. 40. 3; 41. 14; 42. 1, 6; 43. 14; 44. 6; 45. 15; 49. 3, 7, 26; 51. 9, 10; 53. 3, 11; 54. 5; 55. 4; 59. 20; 60. 20; 63. 1, 9; Hag. 2. 7; Zech. 3. 8; 13. 1, 7; Mal. 3. 1; 4. 2; Dan. 9. 24, 25.
20 — *Obedience of*, Isa. 11. 5; 42. 21, 50. 5, 6.
21 — *Omnipotence of*, Isa. 9. 6; 40. 10; 50. 2–4; 63. 1.
22 — *Omniscience of*, Isa. 11. 2, 3; 50. 4.
23 — *Perfections of*, Isa. 11. 5; Mic. 5. 4; Ezek. 34. 29; Isa. 49. 2; 53. 9.
24 — *Rejected*, Isa. 8. 14; 49. 4; 50. 1–11; 53. 1–4.
25 — *Relation to the Father* (see Divinity of), Mic. 5. 4; Isa. 42. 1; 49. 5, 6; 61. 1.
— *Righteousness of* (see Holiness of).
26 — *Saviour*, Isa. 8. 14; 28. 16; 32. 2; Jer. 23. 5, 6; Ezek. 34. 23; Isa. 40. 10, 11; 42. 6, 7; 49. 6–9; 50. 2, 8, 9; 53. 10, 11; 59. 16, 17, 20; 61. 1–3; 62. 11; 63. 5, 8, 9; Zech. 4. 7; 9. 9; Mal. 4. 2.
27 — *Shepherd*, Mic. 5. 4; Jer. 31. 10; Ezek. 34. 10, 23; 37. 24; Isa. 40. 11; Zech. 13. 7.
28 — *Sufferings of*, Mic. 5. 1; Isa. 50. 6; 52. 13—53. 12; Zech. 11. 12, 13; 13. 7.
— *Sympathy of* (see Compassion of).
— *Zeal of* (see Zeal), Isa. 59. 17.
Messianic (see Kingdom of God; Kingship, Messianic).
29 **Metereological and celestial phenomena**, Am. 4. 13; 5. 8; 9. 6; Hos. 6. 4; 8. 7; 13. 3, 15; Isa. 5. 6; 13. 13; 24. 18, 23; 34. 4; Zeph. 1. 15; Nah. 1. 3; Hab. 3. 3–11; Jer. 4. 11, 12; 10. 13; 14. 22; 51. 16; Isa. 50. 3; 55. 10; Hag. 2. 6, 21; Zech. 10. 1; Joel 2. 30, 31.
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30 **Ministers,**[1] **God's**, *character and qualifications of*, Isa. 6. 5–8; 32. 20; Jer. 1. 7, 8; 3. 15; 20. 9; Ezek. 34. 1–31; Isa. 52. 11; Mal. 2. 6, 7.
31 — *duties of*, Isa. 21. 8; Hab. 2. 1, 2; Jer. 1. 7, 8, 17–19; 6. 17, 27; 15. 19–21; 23. 4, 18, 22, 28; 26. 2; Ezek. 2. 6–8; 3. 8–27; 6. 11; 33. 1–9; 34. 2–31; 44. 23; Mal. 2. 7; Joel 1. 13–15; 2. 17; Jon. 1. 2.
32 — *false and corrupt*, Am. 2. 11, 12; Hos. 4. 6–13; 5. 1; 6. 9; 9. 7, 8; Isa. 3. 12; 5. 20; 8. 19, 20; 9. 14–16; 28. 7; 29. 10–12; 30. 10, 11; Mic. 2. 11; 3. 5–11; Zeph. 3. 4; Jer. 2. 8; 5. 13, 31; 6. 13, 14; 8. 10, 11; 10. 21; 12. 10; 13. 20; 14. 13–16, 18; 20. 6; 23. 1, 2, 11–16, 21, 25–31; 27. 9–18; 28. 17; 29. 9, 31; 37. 19; 50. 6; Ezek. 13. 1–23; 14. 9, 10; 22. 25–28; 34. 1–31; 44. 8, 10; 48. 11; Isa. 43. 27, 28; 44. 20; 56. 10–12; Zech. 10. 2, 3; 11. 4, 5, 16, 17; 13. 2–5; Mal. 1. 6–10; 2. 1–3, 8, 9.
33 — *promises to*, Jer. 1. 17–19; 15. 20; 20. 11; Ezek. 3. 8, 9; Dan. 12. 3.
34 — *trials of* (see Persecution), Am. 5. 10; 7. 10–17; Hos. 1. 2; Isa. 20. 2, 3; 29. 21; Jer. 7. 27; 11. 18, 19; 12. 6; 15. 10, 15, 18; 18. 23; 20. 1–18; 26. 7–11; 29. 24–29; 32. 2; 33. 1; 36. 26; 37. 13–21; 38. 4–13; Ezek. 24. 15–18; 33. 31, 32.

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Mission to heathen (see Conversion of heathen).
35 **Mockery** (see Persecution), Isa. 5. 18, 19; 14. 4, 9–11; 28. 9, 10; 37. 22; Zeph. 2. 8; Nah. 2. 1, 11, 12; 3. 4–7; Hab. 2. 5–20; Jer. 6. 10; Obad. 12; Ezek. 32. 18–21; Isa. 51. 7.
Murder (see Homicide).
36 **Murmuring against God** (see Doubting; Envy; Ingratitude), Isa. 38. 10–18; Jer. 12. 1–6; 15. 10, 18; 20. 7–18; Mal. 3. 14; Jon. 4. 1–9.

1 **Nature apostrophised**: Hos. 2. 21, 22; Isa. 1. 2; 34. 1; Mic. 1. 2; 6. 2; Jer. 2. 12; 6. 19; 22. 29; 51. 48; Ezek. 6. 3; 36. 1–6; Isa. 44. 23; 45. 8; 49. 13; 55. 12.
2 **Neighbour**, Isa. 3. 5; 19. 2; Hab. 2. 15; Jer. 5. 8; 7. 5; 9. 4–8; 22. 8, 13; 23. 27, 30, 35; 31. 34; 34. 15, 17; Ezek. 18. 6, 11, 15; 22. 11; 33. 26; Isa. 41. 6; 58. 6–14; Zech. 3. 10; 8. 10, 16, 17; Mal. 3. 5.

1 **Oath**, Am. 8. 14; Hos. 4. 15; Jer. 4. 2; 5. 2; 12. 16; Dan. 9. 11; 12. 7.
2 — *Divine* (see Covenant), Am. 6. 8; 8. 7; Isa. 14. 24; Jer. 11. 5; 22. 5; 49. 13; 51. 14.
Obduracy (see Affliction, obduracy in).
3 **Obedience**, Isa. 1. 19; Jer. 7. 23; 35. 18, 19; Ezek. 18. 19; 33. 14–16; Hag. 1. 12; Dan. 7. 27.
4 — *enjoined*, Jer. 26. 13; 38. 20; Mal. 4. 4.
5 **Offerings unavailing**, Am. 5. 21–24; Hos. 6. 6; 8. 13; Isa. 1. 11–15; Mic. 6. 6, 7; Jer. 6. 20; 7. 21–23; 14. 12; Isa. 40. 16; 66. 3.
Old Age (see Life, long).
Omnipotence, Omniscience (see God, Messiah).
6 **Opportunity the measure of responsibility**: Hos. 5. 6; Jer. 8. 20; Ezek. 3. 19; 33. 1–17.
Opposition (see Persecution).
7 **Oppression** (see Extortion; Poor; oppression of), Am. 3. 9; 4. 1; 5. 11, 12; 8. 4–6; Hos. 5. 11; 12. 7; Isa. 1. 17; 3. 5, 14, 15; 5. 7, 8; 9. 4; 10. 2; 14. 4; 16. 4; 19. 20; 26. 13; 33. 1, 15; 38. 14; Mic. 2. 1–3; 6. 10–12; Zeph. 3. 1–3; Hab. 2. 5–14; Jer. 2. 34; 5. 28; 7. 6; 21. 12; 22. 3, 17; 50. 33; Ezek. 18. 18; 22. 7, 12, 29; 45. 8, 9; 46. 18; Isa. 51. 13; 52. 4; 58. 6; 59. 13; Zech. 7. 10; 9. 8; Mal. 3. 5.
8 **Orphan** (see Widowhood), Hos. 14. 3; Isa. 1. 17, 23; 9. 17; 10. 2; Jer. 5. 28; 7. 6; 22. 3; 49. 11; Ezek. 22. 7; Mal. 3. 5.

1 **Parable, allegory**, &c.: Am. 6. 9, 10; 7. 1–9; 8. 1–3; 9. 1; Hos. 1. 2–9; Isa. 5. 1–7; 27. 2, 3; 28. 23–29; Jer. 1. 11–16; 13. 12–14; 18. 1–17; 19. 1–13; 24. 1–10; 27. 1–11; Ezek. 2. 9—3. 3; 4. 1–17; 5. 1–5; 12. 1–20; 15. 1–8; 16. 1–63; 17. 1–10; 19. 1–14; 23. 1–49; 24. 3–5; 27. 26–36; 28. 12–19; 31. 1–18; 34. 1–31; Zech. 1. 8–21; 2. 1–13; 3. 1–10; 4. 1–14; 5. 1–11; 6. 1–15; Jon. 4. 10, 11; Dan. 2. 24, 25; 7. 2–14; 8. 2–14.
2 **Pardon**, Am. 7. 2; Hos. 14. 4–8; Isa. 1. 18; 2. 9; 6. 6, 7; 33. 24; Mic. 7. 18; Jer. 3. 12–15; 5. 1, 7; 18. 23; 31. 34; 33. 8; 36. 3; 50. 20; Ezek. 18. 21, 22; 33. 14–16; Isa. 40. 2; 43. 25, 26; 44. 22; 55. 7; Dan. 9. 9, 19.
3 **Parents, dishonour of**, Mic. 7. 6; Ezek. 22. 7.
4 **Parsimony** (see Liberality), Hag. 1. 2–11; Mal. 3. 8, 9.
Pastimes (see Games).
5 **Patience** (see Waiting), Isa. 50. 4, 11; 53. 7–9.
6 **Patriotism** (see Church, love for), Isa. 21. 10; 22. 4; Mic. 1. 8; Jer. 8. 11, 21, 22; 9. 1, 2; 13. 17; 14. 17; 22. 23; 29 7; Ezek. 21. 6, 7; 26. 17; 27. 29–32; Isa. 62. 1, 6, 7; 66. 10–14.
7 **Pawning**, Am. 2. 8; Ezek. 18. 7–12, 16; 33. 15.
8 **Peace** (cessation from war), Hos. 2. 18; Isa. 2. 4; 9. 5; 39. 8; Mic. 4. 3; Jer. 29. 7; Isa. 45. 7; Zech. 8. 16, 19; 9. 10.
9 — *spiritual*, Isa. 9. 6; 11. 6–16; 12. 1, 2; 25. 7, 8; 26. 3, 12; 27. 5; 28. 12; 30. 15, 26; 32. 2, 17, 18; 38. 17; Mic. 5. 5; Jer. 33. 6; Ezek. 34. 25; 37. 26; Isa. 48. 18; 52. 7; 53. 5; 54. 10, 13; 55. 12;

57. 2, 19; 59. 8; 60. 17; 66. 12; Hag. 2. 9; Zech. 6. 13; Mal. 2. 5.
10 **Penitence** (see Repentance; Sin, confession of), Hos. 14. 3.
11 **Penitent, promises to** (see Pardon; Penitence), Isa. 1. 18, 19; 27. 5; Ezek. 18. 21–27; 33. 10–16.
12 **Perjury** (see Falsehood; Liars), Hos. 10. 4; Jer. 5. 2; 7. 9; Isa. 48. 1; Zech. 5. 4; 8. 17; Mal. 3. 5.
13 **Persecution** (see Ministers, trials of), Am. 5. 10, 13; Isa. 14. 4; 26. 20; 29. 20, 21; Mic. 5. 1; Hab. 1. 13; Jer. 2. 30; 11. 18, 19; 12. 6; 15. 10, 15; 17. 15–18; 18. 18–23; 20. 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 18; 26. 8, 9–11, 21–23; 29. 24–29; 32. 2, 3; 33. 1; 36. 26; 37. 13–21; 38. 4–6; 50. 7; Isa. 49. 7; 50. 6; 51. 7, 12, 13; 52. 14; 53. 2–10; 59. 15; 66. 5; Dan. 3. 8–23; 6. 4–17.
14 **Perseverance,** Hos. 12. 6; Zeph. 2. 3; Jer. 32. 40.
15 **Perversity,** Am. 5. 7; 6. 12; Isa. 5. 20; 10. 1; Jer. 8. 8.
Philanthropy (see Almsdoing; Liberality).
16 **Pity and Pitilessness** (see Mercy), Am. 1. 11; Isa. 13. 18; Nah. 3. 7; Jer. 13. 14; 15. 5; 21. 7; Ezek. 5. 11; 7. 4, 9; 8. 18; 9. 5, 10; 16. 5; 24. 21; 36. 21; Isa. 51. 19, 63. 9; Zech. 11. 5, 6; Joel 2. 18; 3. 19; Jon. 4. 10, 11.
17 **Pleasure, worldly** (see Worldliness). Am. 6. 1, 4–7; Isa. 5. 11, 12; 22. 12, 13; 32. 9; Zeph. 1. 12; 2. 15; Jer. 48. 11; Isa. 47. 8.
18 **Poor, and Duty to** (see Almsdoing; Liberality), Isa. 1. 17; 16. 3; Jer. 22. 16; Ezek. 16. 49; 18. 7, 16, 17; Isa. 58. 7, 10; 66. 2; Zech. 7. 10; Dan. 4. 27.
19 — *God's care of* (see God, goodness of; providence of), Isa. 11. 4; 14. 30, 32; 25. 4; 29. 19; Zeph. 3. 12; Nah. 1. 7; Jer. 20. 13; Isa. 41. 17; 61. 1; Zech. 11. 7, 11.
20 — *Oppression of* (see Oppression), Am. 2. 6–8; 3. 10; 4. 1; 5. 11; 6. 3; 8. 4, 6; Isa. 3. 14, 15; 5. 23; 10. 1, 2; 26. 6; 32. 6, 7; Mic. 3. 1–3; 6. 12; Hab. 3. 14; Jer. 30. 20; Ezek. 18. 12; 22. 7, 29.
21 **Praise** (see God, glory of; Joy), Isa. 12. 1–6; 24. 14–16; 25. 1–5, 9; 26. 1–19; 35. 10; 38. 18–20; Mic. 7. 18–20; Zeph. 3. 14–17; Nah. 1. 15; Hab. 3. 17–19; Jer. 20. 13; 31. 7, 12; 33. 11; Isa. 42. 10–13; 43. 21; 44. 23; 45. 8; 48. 20, 21; 49. 13; 51. 3, 9–11; 52. 7–10; 55. 12; 60. 6; 61. 3; 63. 7; Jon. 2. 9; Dan. 2. 20, 23; 4. 37.
22 **Prayer** (see Affliction, prayer in), *answer to, delayed,* Hab. 1. 2; Jer. 42. 7.
23 — *Answer to, promised,* Am. 5. 4–6; Isa. 19. 20; 30. 19; 37. 21–35; Zeph. 2. 3; Jer. 29. 12, 13; 31. 9; 33. 3; Ezek. 36. 37; Isa. 55. 6, 7; 58. 9; 65. 24; Zech. 10. 1, 6; 13. 9; Joel 2. 18, 19, 32.
24 — *Commanded,* Am. 5. 4–6; Isa. 55. 6.
25 — *Confession in,* Isa. 6. 5; Jer. 3. 13, 25; 14. 7, 20; Isa. 59. 12, 13; Dan. 9. 5–15.
26 — *exemplified,* Hos. 12. 4; Hab. 1. 2; 3. 1; Isa. 33. 2; 38. 2; Jer. 32. 16–25; Jon. 2. 1; 4. 2; Dan. 9. 3, 19.
27 — *Importunity in,* Isa. 38. 2, 3; Hab. 1. 12; Isa. 62. 7; 64. 12; Jon. 1. 14; Dan. 9. 3, 17–19.
28 — *Imprecatory* (see Imprecations), Jer. 11. 20; 12. 3; 15. 15; 17. 18; 18. 21–23; 20. 12.
— *Intercessory* (see Intercession).
29 — *Pleas offered in,* Jer. 14. 21; 18. 20, 21; Joel 2. 17.
30 — *prayerfulness,* Dan. 6. 10.
31 — *prayerlessness,* Hos. 7. 7; Isa. 9. 13; Zeph. 1. 6; Jer. 10. 21, 25; Isa. 43. 22; 64. 7; Jon. 1. 6; Dan. 9. 13.
32 **Predestination,** Jer. 1. 5; Isa. 42. 1; 43. 10; 44. 1, 2, 7; Hag. 2. 23; Mal. 1. 2, 3.
33 **Presumption** (see Pride), Am. 9. 2, 3; Isa. 5. 18–25; 9. 8–10; 10. 15; 14. 13, 14; 28. 14–22; 29. 15, 16, 20; 30. 1–7; Jer. 23. 34; 49. 16; 51. 53; Obad. 3, 4; Ezek. 13. 10, 11; Isa. 45. 9, 10; 58. 3; 65. 5; Jon. 4. 1–8; Dan. 4. 30; 5. 20–23.
34 **Pride** (see Ambition; Presumption), Hos. 5. 5; 7. 10; Isa. 2. 9, 11–17; 3. 16–26; 5. 8, 15; 9. 9, 10; 10. 5–19; 13. 11; 14. 12–19; 16. 6; 22. 16, 19; 23. 7–9; 24. 4, 21; 25. 11, 12; 26. 5; 28. 1–4; Mic. 2. 3; Zeph. 2. 10, 15; 3. 11; Nah. 2. 11;

Hab. 2. 4, 5, 9; Jer. 9. 23, 24; 13. 9, 15, 17; 46. 7, 8; 48. 7, 14, 29; 49. 4, 16; 50. 29, 31, 32; Obad. 3, 4; Ezek. 7. 10, 20, 24; 16. 49, 56; 27. 3; 28. 2–9, 17; 29. 9; 30. 6, 18; 31. 10; 33. 28; Isa. 47. 7–10; Mal. 3. 15; 4. 1; Zech. 10. 11; Dan. 4. 30; 5. 20–23.

35 **Procrastination**, Ezek. 11. 3; 12. 22, 27, 28.

36 **Profanity** (see Blasphemy; Secular), Am. 2. 7; Isa. 9. 17; 10. 6; 29. 13–16; 32. 5, 6; Jer. 23. 15; Ezek. 7. 20, 24; 20. 13, 21, 24; 22. 8, 16, 26; 23. 39; 24. 21; 25. 3; 28. 16; 36. 20, 21; 39. 7; 44. 7; Isa. 48. 11; 56. 6; Mal. 1. 12; 2. 10, 11; Dan. 11. 31, 32; 12. 11.

Profligacy (see Lewdness).

Promises (see Affliction, consolation in; Backsliding; Blessings; Pardon; Penitent; Righteous; Seekers).

37 **Prophets, inspiration of** (see Word of the Lord, inspiration of), Am. 3. 7, 8; 7. 1, 4, 7, 14, 15; 8. 1; 9. 1; Hos. 1. 1, 2; 12. 10; Isa. 1. 1, 2, 20; 6. 1–13; 7. 3; 8. 1, 11; 9. 8; 22. 14; Mic. 1. 1; 3. 8; 6. 1; Zeph. 1. 1; Nah. 1. 1; Hab. 1. 1; 2. 2; 3. 16; Jer. 1. 2, 4, 11; 2. 1; 7. 1, 13, 25; 11. 1, 7, 8, 18; 13. 1–3; 14. 1; 15. 1; 16. 1; 18. 1; 19. 1, 14; 20. 9; 21. 1; 22. 1; 23. 9; 24. 1, 4; 25. 1–4; 26. 1, 2, 5, 12; 27. 1; 29. 19, 30; 30. 1; 32. 1, 6, 8, 26, 33; 33. 1; 34. 1, 8; 35. 14; 42. 4, 7; 43. 1; 44. 1; 46. 1, 13; 47. 1; 50. 1; 51. 62; Obad. 1; Ezek. 1. 1, 3, 20; 2. 1—3. 27; 6. 2; 7. 1; 8. 1; 11. 1, 4, 5, 24; 12. 1, 21, 26; 13. 1; 14. 2, 12; 15. 1; 16. 1; 17. 1, 11; 18. 1; 20. 2, 45; 21. 1, 8, 18; 22. 1, 17, 23; 23. 1; 24. 1, 15, 20; 25. 1; 26. 1, 15, 16; 27. 1; 28. 1, 11, 20; 29. 1, 17; 30. 1, 20; 31. 1; 32. 1, 17; 33. 1, 22, 30; 34. 1; 35. 1; 36. 1, 16; 37. 1, 15; 38. 1, 2; 39. 1; 40. 1–4; 43. 5; Isa. 44. 26; 63. 11; Hag. 1. 1, 13; 2. 1, 10, 20; Zech. 1. 1, 7; 2. 9; 4. 8; 6. 9; 7. 1, 12; 8. 1, 18; 12. 1; Mal. 1. 1; Joel 1. 1; 2. 28, 29; Jon. 1. 1; 3. 1–3; Dan. 1. 17; 2. 19; 4. 8; 5. 11, 14; 7. 1, 16; 8. 1, 16; 9. 1–22; 10. 7–9.

38 **Prosperity** (see Blessings, temporal; Riches; Worldliness), Am. 3. 12, 15; 6. 4; Hos. 4. 7; 13. 6; Isa. 2. 7; 5. 9; 22. 8, 11; 39. 2; Jer. 5. 7; 22. 21; Ezek. 16. 49; Hag. 2. 19.

Proud (see Presumption; Pride).

39 **Proverbs**, Hos. 4. 9; 6. 4; 8. 7; 13. 3; Isa. 9, 10; 36. 16; Mic. 4. 4; Zeph. 1. 12; Jer. 10. 5; 31. 29; Ezek. 12. 22, 23; 16. 44; 18. 2–4; Isa. 41. 23; Zech. 3. 10.

Providence (see God, Providence of).

40 **Prudence**, Am. 5. 13; 6. 10; Hos. 14. 9.

Punishment (see Affliction, design of; Chastisement, &c.).

41 —*according to deeds* (see Judgement), Hos. 12. 2; Jer. 17. 10; 25. 14; 32. 19; 50. 15, 29; 51. 6, 24; Ezek. 7. 3, 4, 27; 9. 10; 11. 21; 16. 43, 59; 18. 30; 22. 31; 36. 19; 39. 24; Isa. 59. 18; Zech. 1. 6.

42 —*delayed*, Hab. 1. 2–4.

43 —*Divine, no escape from* (see Judgement, no escape from), Am. 2. 14–16; 9. 1–4; Zeph. 1. 18; Jer. 11. 11; 15. 1; 25. 28, 29; 49. 12; 51. 53; Obad. 4, 16; Ezek. 7. 19.

44 **Purity of heart** (see Ablution), Isa. 1. 18, 25; 4. 4; 6. 7; Mic. 6. 11; Ezek. 36. 25; Mal. 3. 2, 3; Zech. 13. 1, 9; Dan. 11. 35; 12. 10.

1 **Ransom**, Hos. 3. 2; Isa. 35. 10; 51. 11.

2 **Refining**, Isa. 1. 25; 25. 6; Jer. 9. 7; Isa. 48. 10; Zech. 13. 9; Mal. 3. 2, 3.

3 **Remnant, the**, Am. 3. 12; 5. 3, 15; 9. 8; Isa. 1. 9; 4. 2, 3; 6. 13; 7. 3; 10. 20–22; 11. 11, 16; 14. 30; 16. 14; 17. 4–6; 24. 13–15; 28. 5; 37. 4, 31, 32; Mic. 2. 12; 4. 7; 5. 3, 7, 8; 7. 18; Zeph. 2. 7, 9; 3. 13; Jer. 3. 14; 4. 27; 6. 9; 11. 23; 23. 3; 30. 11; 31. 7; 40. 11, 15; 42. 2, 15, 19; 43. 5; 44. 12, 14, 28; 50. 20; Obad. 17; Ezek. 5. 10; 6. 8; 11. 13; 12. 16; 14. 22; Isa. 45. 18–25; 46. 3; 65. 8–10.

4 **Remorse** (see Despondency; Conviction), Hos. 10. 8; Isa. 2. 19–21; 6. 5; Ezek. 7. 16–18, 25, 26; 33. 10; Isa. 48. 22; 57. 20, 21.

Repentance (see Conviction; Remorse; Sin, confession of; forgiveness of).

5 **Repentance** *enjoined*, Am. 4. 12; 5. 4–6, 15, 24; Hos. 10. 12; 12. 6; 14. 1–3; Isa. 1. 16–20; 22. 12; 31. 6; Zeph. 2. 1–3; Jer. 3. 4, 12–14, 19, 22; 4. 1–4; 6. 8, 16; 7. 5; 13. 15, 16; 18. 8, 11; 25. 5; 26. 3, 13; 35. 15; 36. 3, 7; Ezek. 12. 3; 14. 6; 18. 21–31; 33. 10–19; Isa. 44. 22; 46. 8; 55. 6, 7; Hag. 1. 5, 7; Zech. 1. 3, 4; Mal. 3. 7; Joel 1. 14; 2. 12; Jon. 3. 8, 9; Dan. 4. 27.

6 — *practised*, Hos. 6. 1–3; Isa. 6. 5; 26. 16; 37. 1–4; 38. 14, 15; Mic. 7. 9; Jer. 3. 25; 8. 18; 10. 19; 14. 7, 20; 31. 18, 19; Isa. 59. 12–15; 64. 5–7; Jon. 3. 10; Dan. 9. 5–11; 10. 12.

7 — *promised*, Hos. 2. 7; 3. 5; 5. 15; 14. 8; Isa. 10. 20–23; 30. 22; Jer. 24. 7; 29. 12, 13; 31. 9, 23; 50. 4, 5; Ezek. 6. 9; 7. 16; 11. 18–20; 16. 61–63; 20. 43; 36. 31; 37. 23; Zech. 12. 10.

8 — *rewarded*, Am. 5. 4, 6, 15; Hos. 3. 5; 6. 1–3; 10. 12; 14. 4, 8; Isa. 1. 19; Mic. 7. 7–9; Zeph. 2. 3; Jer. 3. 12, 19, 23; 4. 1, 2; 6. 16; 7. 7; 18. 8; 24. 7; 25. 5; 26. 3, 13; 29. 13; 31. 9; 36. 3; 50. 5; Ezek. 11. 19, 20; 16. 62; 37. 23–28; Isa. 55. 7; 57. 15; 59. 20; 61. 1, 2; Zech. 1. 3; 12. 10; Mal. 3. 7, 12; Joel 2. 14, 18–32; Jon. 3. 10.

Repetition (see Emphasis).

9 **Reprobacy** (see Depravity), Am. 5. 10; Hos. 5. 6; Isa. 1. 22; 6. 9, 10; 22. 12–14; 28. 13; 29. 9–12, 21; Jer. 5. 21; 6. 30; 7. 16, 31; 11. 14; 14. 10, 11; 15. 1; Ezek. 22. 17–22; Isa. 65. 12; 66. 4.

Resignation (see Affliction, resignation in).

10 **Responsibility, individual**, Isa. 7. 15, 16; Ezek. 3. 16–21; 18. 2–32; 33. 2–20.

Rest (see Peace).

11 **Restoration** (see Kingdom of God), Am. 9. 11–15; Hos. 1. 10—2. 1; 2. 14–23; 3. 5; 6. 2; 11. 10, 11; Isa. 1. 26, 27; 2. 2–4; 4. 2–6; 11. 11–16; 14. 1–3; 27. 1–13; 30. 18–26; 32. 15–20; 35. 5–7; Mic. 2. 12, 13; 4. 6–8; 7. 12; Zeph. 2. 7; 3. 18–20; Nah. 2. 2; Hab. 3. 13; Jer. 3. 18; 4. 2; 16. 14, 15; 23. 3–8; 29. 10–14; 30. 3–22; 31. 1–40; 32. 37–42; 33. 2–26; 46. 27, 28; 50. 4–8, 19, 20; 51. 5, 6; Obad. 19–21; Ezek. 11. 17–21; 20. 33–44; 29. 21; 34. 11–16, 23–31; 36. 8–15, 24–38; 37. 1–28; 39. 25–29; 47. 1–12; Isa. 40. 27–31; 42. 14–17; 43. 1–8, 14–21; 44. 26–28; 46. 13; 49. 7—50. 3; 51. 9–16; 52. 1–12; 54. 1–17; 55. 1–13; 56. 8; 60. 1–22; 61. 1–11; 66. 7–14; Zech. 10. 6–12; Joel 3. 16–21.

12 **Resurrection** (see Immortality), Hos. 13. 14; Isa. 25. 8; 26. 19; Ezek. 37. 1–14; Dan. 12. 2, 3, 13

13 **Retaliation**, Isa. 33. 1; Hab. 2. 8; Jer. 25. 14; 30. 16; 50. 15, 29; 51. 6, 24; Obad. 15; Ezek. 35. 15; Joel 3. 4, 7.

Return to God (see Backsliding; Repentance).

Revelry (see Worldliness).

14 **Reward** (see Blessing; Bribery; Repentance; Righteous), Hos. 4. 9; Isa. 3. 9, 11; Jer. 31. 16; Isa. 40. 10; 45. 13; 49. 4; 62. 11; Dan. 2. 6; 5. 17.

15 **Riches** (see Covetousness; Prosperity; Worldliness), Am. 6. 1–6; Hos. 12. 8; Isa. 5. 8; 10. 3; 15. 7; 32. 9; Mic. 2. 2; 6. 12; Zeph. 1. 8–13, 18; Hab. 2. 12; Jer. 5. 7–9, 27–29; 9. 23; 17. 11; 22. 13–19; 48. 36; 49. 10; Obad. 6; Ezek. 7. 19; 22. 13; 23. 5, 6, 12, 23; 28. 5; Isa. 60. 5, 11, 16; 61. 6; Hag. 2. 8; Zech. 11. 5.

16 **Righteous**, *described*, Isa. 33. 15, 16; Jer. 31. 12–14, 33, 34; Ezek. 18. 5–9; 44. 9; Isa. 51. 7; 52. 1; 54. 13; 60. 21; 62. 12; 63. 8; Zech. 3. 7.

17 — *Promises to* (see Blessings), Hos. 6. 3; Isa. 4. 5, 6; 11. 6–9; 25. 4–8; 26. 1–3; 33. 16, 17, 21–24; 35. 10; Zeph. 3. 11–13; Nah. 1. 7; Hab. 2. 14; 3. 19; Jer. 17. 7, 8; 50. 19, 20; Ezek. 18. 5–9, 19, 20; 34. 11–31; Isa. 40. 10, 11, 29, 31; 41. 10, 11, 13, 14; 43. 2, 5; 44. 2–6; 49. 9–12; 50. 7–9; 51. 11; 54. 1–17; 55. 1–13; 56. 2–8; 57. 1, 2; 58. 8–14; 59. 20, 21; 64. 4; 65. 13, 14, 17–25; 66. 13, 14; Hag. 1. 13; 2. 4; Zech. 3. 7; Mal. 3. 16–18; Joel 2. 28, 29; Dan. 12. 1–3.

18 **Righteousness, fruits of**, Hos. 12. 10; Isa. 28. 17; 32. 16–18; 33. 15–17; Ezek. 18. 5–9; 33. 15; Isa.

55. 12, 13; 58. 6–14; 62. 1; Mal. 3. 3; 4. 2; Dan. 12. 3.

19 **Righteousness** (=Salvation), Isa. 41. 2, 10; 42. 6, 21; 45. 13, 23; 46. 13; 51. 5, 6, 8; 56. 1.

20 **Rising early**: Isa. 5. 11; 26. 9; Mic. 2. 1; Zeph. 3. 7; Jer. 7. 13, 25; 11. 7; 25. 3, 4; 26. 5; 29. 19; 32. 33; 35. 14, 15; 44. 4.

21 **Robbery** (see Theft), Am. 2. 8; 3. 10; Hos. 5. 10; 6. 9; 7. 1; Isa. 3. 14, 15; Nah. 3. 1; Jer. 7. 11; 50. 37; Ezek. 7. 22; 18. 10; 33. 15; 39. 10; Isa. 42. 22; 61. 8.

22 **Rulers**, *wicked* (see Corruption of leaders), Am. 3. 10, 11; 4. 1; 5. 11, 12; 6. 12, 13; Hos. 5. 10; 7. 3; 10. 7; Isa. 1. 10, 23; 3. 12–15; 5. 7–22; 10. 1–3; 14. 9–20; 28. 14, 15; 29. 20, 21; 30. 33; 33. 1; Mic. 3. 1–3, 9–11; 7. 3, 4; Zeph. 1. 8; 3. 3, 4; Hab. 1. 4; 2. 5–13; Jer. 5. 28, 29; 8. 8; 22. 6, 10, 11, 13–19, 28; 28. 2; 34. 2–11; Ezek. 21. 25, 26; 22. 6, 27; 28. 2; 34. 2–10; 45. 9; Isa. 40. 23; 59. 14, 15.

23 — *Duties of*, Isa. 16. 5; 28. 6; 32. 1, 2; Jer. 13. 18; 21. 12; 22. 2, 3; Isa. 58. 6; 60. 17; Zech. 7. 9, 10; 8. 16.

1 **Sabbath**, Am. 8. 5; Hos. 2. 11; Isa. 1. 13; Jer. 17. 21–27; Ezek. 20. 12–24; 22. 8, 26; 23. 38; 44. 24; 46. 1; Isa. 56. 2–7; 58. 13, 14; 66. 23.

2 **Sacrifices, figurative** (see Offerings), Hos. 14. 2; Isa. 34. 6; Zeph. 1. 7, 8; Jer. 33. 11; 46. 10; Ezek. 39. 17–20.

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REFERENCE INDEX OF CHAPTERS AND VERSES IN THE PROPHETIC BOOKS[1]

THE letters of the alphabet refer to the several items or terms arranged alphabetically in the preceding 'General Index of Prophetic Thought and Teaching'; the figures attached to these letters refer to the numbers belonging to the alphabetical arrangement of this General Index. Thus Amos **1** 2 A 22. G 28. J 9. V 2. means that the second verse of the first chapter of Amos has four references in the General Index, viz. under the terms 'Anger of God'; 'God, power of'; 'Judgements executed by terrestrial agency'; and 'Voice of God'.

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16 M 19, 26.
17 G 21. L 5. R 18. S 8, 14.
18 C 19.
20 S 8, 14.
21 A 22. G. 21.
22 S 5.
23–29 P 1. W 20.
26 I 38. W 19.
29 G 22, 39. W 19.
29 1–4 S 25.
4 D 13.
7–8 D 18.
9–12 C 26. M 32. R 9.
9 D 19.
10–11 B 14.
13–16 F 9. H 15. P 36. W 20, 28.
13 F 6, 8. I 36.
14 W 18.
15–16 B 10. G 22. I 32. P 33.
15 S 4, 23.
16 G 6.
17–24 C 16. R 11.
18 B 14. K 2. S 3.
19 G 15. J 3. K 2. M 5. P 19. S 3.
20 I 32. M 1. P 13, 33. R 22. S 5.
21 C 26. M 1, 34. P 13. R 9, 22.
23 F 6. G 6, 11, 15.
24 B 3. S 3.

ISAIAH (*cont.*)

30 1-7 C 19. G 20, 40. H 7. J 1. P 33. W 13.
8 A 17.
9-13 B 4. G 40. W 24.
9 L 5.
10-11 M 32. W 13.
12-14 W 23. S 25.
15 B 2, 4. C 19. F 1. P 9.
16 C 19.
18-26 A 14. R 11.
18 G 21, 23, 25. W 2.
19 A 8. P 23.
20 A 8, 10. C 16.
21 G 30. W 3, 19, 22.
22 I 4, 23, 24. R 7.
23-26 B 13. G 31.
23, 24 I 37.
26 G 13, 30. H 1. P 9.
27-33 S 25.
27 A 22.
29 J 3. M 19. W 28.
30 A 22. G 11, 21.
33 R 22.

31 1 B 13. C 19. G 20, 40. J 1.
2 G 16, 21, 39.
3 C 19. G 28. J 1.
4, 5 G 30.
5 I 37.
6 B 2, 3, 4. R 5.
7 B 3. I 4, 23.
9 G 30.

32 1-20 C 16.
1-4 S 3.
1 C 13. G 36. J 11. K 3. M 12. R 23.
2 G 30. J 11. M 26. P 9. R 23.
3, 4 B 14.
5-8 W 12.
5 H 15. L 6. P 36.
6 H 15. M 1. P 20, 36. S 30. W 13.
7 D 15. F 4. L 5. M 5. P 20. S 30. W 13.
8 L 6.
9-14 C 26. I 28. S 25. W 21, 27.
9 P 17. R 15.
13 W 4.
14 I 37. W 4.
15-20 K 2. R 11.
15 H 7.
16-18 R 18.
17 H 6. P 9.
18 A 7. G 30. P 9.
19 A 7.
20 M 30.

33 1 F 11. O 7. R 13, 22. T 6.
2 A 12. F 3. P 26. W 2.
3 G 28.
4 I 37.
5 B 12. C 16. G 11.
6 B 12. F 6. S 3. W 18.
7 I 29.
8 C 31. W 4, 8.
10-14 W 15.
13-24 C 16.
13 F 6. G 28.
14 F 6. G 40. H 15.
15-17 R 18.
15 B 15. D 15. H 9, 10. I 40. O 7. R 16, 17. T 1.
16 G 30, 31. H 10. I 40. R 16, 17. T 1.
17 G 13, 36. K 3. R 17.
20 G 30.
21-24 R 17.
21 B 13. G 13.
22 B 13. C 13. G 13, 21, 35, 36. M 19.
24 G 25. P 2.

34 1-10 D 3. N 1.
4-5 H 3. M 29. W 5.
5-17 S 25.
6 S 2.
7-15 W 4.
11-16 I 37.
16 W 22, 23.

35 1-10 C 16. K 2. U 3.
1 J 3.
2 G 11. J 3.
3-10 S 3.
3 D 14. F 2.
4 D 14. F 2. G 13, 35.
5-7 R 11.
5 B 14.
8 H 6. W 3, 8.
9 G 30. W 3.
10 G 24. J 3. P 21. R 1, 17. T 3.

36 6 C 19.
7 I 7, 8.
15-20 B 10.
16 P 39.
18-20 I 5.

37 1-4 A 7, 12. J 10. R 6.
4 R 3.
6 B 10. F 2.
10 B 10.
12 I 5.
14-20 A 12.
16 G 5, 36. H 3.
19 I 5, 22.
21-37 P 23.
22 M 35.
28 G 22.
31 R 3.
32 G 30. R 3. Z 2.
35 G 30. I 42.

38 1 D 4. S 18.
2 A 12. P 26, 27.
3 A 12. P 27.
10-18 M 36.
10 D 4.
12 L 8.
14-19 A 12.
14 I 37. O 7. R 6.
15 R 6.
16-20 L 9.
16 F 3.
17 G 24. P 8.
18-20 P 21.
18 D 4. H 11. I 27.
19 C 6. I 27.
20 W 28.
21 M 4. S 18.

39 1 S 18.
2 P 38. W 27.
4 S 12.
8 B 12. P 8. T 7.

MICAH

1 1 P 37.
2-16 S 25.
2 N 1.
3-4 D 3. G 28.
5-7 I 24.
5 C 1.
7 I 4, 20. W 1.
8 C 14. I 37. P 6.
12 A 10.

MICAH (*cont.*)

2 1-3 O 7.
1 M 1. R 20.
2 C 33. L 1. R 15. V 1.
3 P 34.
6 W 24.
7 H 7. W 22.
9 D 16. I 34.
10 W 27.
11 D 19. M 32.
12 R 3, 11.
13 G 30. R 11.
3 1-11 C 12.
1-3 B 14. C 26. E 3. P 20. R 22. V 1. W 13.
4 F 9. S 27. W 14.
5-11 M 32.
5 B 15. C 19.
7 H 13. L 5. W 22.
8 H 7. P 37. Z 2.
9-11 B 15. C 26. R 22.
10 H 9.
11 C 19, 33. H 15. J 4. S 10, 13. W 1.
12 S 22.
4 1-7 C 16, 23.
1-4 K 2.
2 C 15. W 3, 18. Z 2.
3 M 14. P 8.
4 P 39.
5 I 5.
6-8 R 11.
7 G 36. R 3.
9 T 5.
10 S 25. T 5.
12 B 14. G 33.
13 A 15. G 36.
5 1 M 14, 28. P 13.
2-15 C 16.
2 C 13. G 7. K 3. M 7, 11, 18, 19.
3 M 7. R 3. T 5.
4 K 3. M 23, 25, 27.
5 B 12. P 9.
7 R 3. Z 1.
8 I 37. R 3. Z 1.
13 I 4, 23, 24.
14 I 6, 24.
15 A 22.
6 1-9 C 4.
1 P 37.
2 N 1.
3-5 G 23. I 33.
3 C 4.
6 C 24. F 9. O 5.
7 C 10. F 9. I 11. O 5.
8 H 6, 12. I 40. J 11. K 1. M 6.
9 A 9, 13, 15.
10-12 M 3. O 7.
10 C 26. D 15.
11 C 26. D 15. P 44.
12 F 4. P 20. V 1. R 15.
13 S 22.
14 W 27.
15 A 24.
16 C 17. I 24.
7 1-6 C 26. D 13.
1 Z 2.
2-4 D 11. V 1. W 13.
2 H 9. Z 2.
3-6 A 19.
3 B 15. C 33. H 15. J 4, 11. R 22. S 24.
4 R 22. W 11.
5 H 15. T 6.
6 C 9. P 3.
7-9 A 14. F 3. R 8.
7 W 2.
8 D 1, 2.
9 A 13. G 34. R 6.
10 I 32.
12 R 11.
13 S 22.
14 I 41.
17 C 24. F 6. I 37.
18-20 P 21. R 3. T 3.
18 A 22. G 25. M 6. P 2.
19 G 24, 25.
20 C 28. F 3. G 8. T 7.

ZEPHANIAH

1 1 P 37.
2-18 S 25.
2-3 D 3.
3-5 I 24.
3 S 33.
4-12 C 26.
4-6 A 25. I 2.
4 I 6, 17.
5 C 4. H 3.
6 B 4. G 40. I 32. P 31.
7-18 D 3.
7 A 15. F 6. G 32. S 2.
8-13 R 15.
8 C 17. R 22. S 2.
9 D 10, 15. S 17. V 1.
12-18 W 3, 15.
12 B 10. C 19. G 40. I 32. L 3. P 17, 39. S 4, 29.
14-18 A 22. D 3.
14 I 29.
15 D 1. M 29.
17 W 11.
18 J 1. P 43. R 15.
2 1-15 S 25.
1-3 R 5.
1 W 6.
2 A 22. D 3. W 6.
3 A 22. C 22. D 3. H 6. M 5. P 14, 23. R 8. S 3, 9.
7 G 25. R 3, 11.
8 M 35.
9 R 3.
10 P 34.
11 C 16, 23. F 6. I 5, 23. K 2.
15 C 19. P 17, 34. W 27.
3 1-7 S 25.
1-3 O 7.
1 I 28.
2 A 11. C 25. I 28.
3-7 W 13.
3 C 26. I 37. J 4. R 22.
4 B 10. C 26. M 32. R 22. T 6. V 1.
5 G 21, 34. I 35. W 13.
7 A 11, 15. C 25. D 11. F 6. I 28. R 20. S 24. W 13.
8 A 22. C 5. D 3. J 1. W 2.
9-20 C 16. K 2.
9, 10 C 23.
11-20 G 30. S 14.
11-13 R 17.

ZEPHANIAH (*cont.*)

3 11 A 26. D 3. H 12. P 34. S 14.
12 F 3. H 12. M 5. P 19. S 3.
13 D 10. F 4. R 3. S 3.
14–17 G 13. P 21.
14 J 3.
15 F 7. G 36.
16 F 2.
17 F 2. G 24.
18–20 R 11.
18 A 8. P 43. W 28.

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1 1 P 37.
2 A 22. G 20. J 1. W 15.
3–6 G 28.
3 A 22. G 21, 25, 38. M 29.
6 A 22. G 21.
7 A 8. B 12. F 1. G 12, 13, 30, 35. P 19. R 17.
8–15 S 25. W 15.
10 D 19. W 11, 17.
11 W 13.
12 A 14. G 30.
13 G 30, 35.
14 I 4, 5.
15 J 3. P 21. V 3. W 29.
2 1–13 S 25.
1 M 35. W 7.
2 R 11.
9 W 27.
10 B 9. D 13. I 29. W 4.
11–13 I 37. M 35.
11 P 34.
12 V 1.
3 1–19 S 25.
1 D 15. F 4. H 9. I 34. R 21. T 4. V 1.
3 W 4.
4–7 M 35.
4 W 10.
7 P 16.
10 I 34. W 4.
11 D 19.
12–13 I 29.
16 H 3. I 37.
17 I 37.
18 D 5.
19 H 1. I 34. V 1.

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1 1 P 37.
2–4 G 23. P 42. Z 2.
2 G 33. P 22, 26. V 1.
3 C 26. G 21, 33, 40. S 31. V 1. W 13.
4 C 26. G 40. I 35. J 11. R 22. W 13.
5–11 A 15. S 25.
6–17 I 34. W 3.
8 I 37.
9 V 1.
11 I 5.
12–17 G 33.
12 A 12, 15. C 25. F 3. G 7, 15. P 27.
13 A 12. P 13. S 26. T 6.
14 I 37.
15 C 33.
16 C 33. I 5.
2 1 F 3. M 31. W 2. 7.
2 A 17. M 31. P 37. W 22, 23. Z 1.
3 F 2. W 2, 23.
4–16 A 18.
4 A 26. F 2. P 34. S 14.
5–20 M 35. S 25.
5–14 C 33. O 7. R 22.
5 D 19. P 34. T 6. W 17.
8 H 9. R 13. V 1.
9 P 34.
10–17 V 1.
10 H 9.
11 S 23.
12 H 9. I 34. R 15.
13 W 27.
14 C 16, 23. K 2, 4. R 17. U 3. W 18.
15–17 D 19.
15 N 2. W 17.
16 C 36.
17 H 9.
18 I 4, 22.
19 I 22.
20 F 6. H 2. W 28.
3 1 P 26. W 28.
2 D 12.
3–11 M 29.
3–6 G 11. W 13.
6 G 7, 28.
8 A 22.
9–11 G 28.
12 A 22.
13 A 23. R 11.
14 P 20.
15 G 28.
16 P 37.
17–19 A 8. F 3. P 21.
18 J 3.
19 B 12. R 17.
20 W 28.

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1 2 P 37.
4–10 C 2.
4 P 37.
5–7 C 6, 8.
5 G 10, 23. P 32.
6 D 17.
7, 8 C 27. M 30, 31.
9 W 23.
11–16 P 1.
11 P 37.
12 G 8. W 22.
16 A 25. I 5, 12, 24.
17–19 M 31, 33.
17 C 27.
19 19 G 30.
2 1 P 37.
2 H 14.
3 G 30.
5–37 B 4. C 11.
5 C 4. G 4, 15, 23.
6 G 30. I 33.

JEREMIAH (*cont.*)

2 8 B 14. C 26. I 6. M 32.
9 G 25.
11 I 5.
12 N 1.
13 C 19. S 14.
14–17 A 25. S 25.
14 S 14.
17–19 M 31.
17 I 33. S 22.
18 C 4, 19.
19 C 25. S 22.
20 A 11. F 10. G 30. I 7, 24. W 10.
21 I 33.
22–25 W 13.
22 A 1. C 19. D 11. S 14, 23.
23 C 4. I 6. S 14, 15.
24 I 37. T 1.
25 C 17. D 13. H 11. I 28. T 1.
26 C 26. T 4.
27 A 7. W 14.
28 C 19. I 5, 22.
29 D 11.
30 A 11. C 5, 25. I 37. P 13.
31 G 4, 23. I 32, 33.
32 B 1. G 40. I 33.
33 W 21.
34 H 9. O 7. S 14.
35 A 11, 22. S 14.
36 C 4, 19.
37 C 19.

3 1–25 B 4. C 11. G 25.
1–11 I 24. W 10.
1 A 5. D 16. F. 10.
2 I 7.
3 A 11.
4–7 B 1.
4 G 9, 14, 30. R 5.
5 W 13.
6 F 10. I 7.
7–11 I 28. T 6.
8 A 5. D 16.
9 A 5.
10–11 H 15.
12–15 B 2. G 4. P 2. R 5.
12 A 22. R 8.
13 C 17. P 25.
14 G 24. H 14. M 2. R 3.
15 G 24. M 30.
16–18 K 2.
17 C 16, 23. D 11. F 7. S 15, 32.
18 R 11.
19 A 4. G 9. R 5, 8.
20 T 6.
21–25 S 20.
22 B 12. H 1. R 5.
23 C 19. G 35. R 8. S 3.
24 I 22.
25 A 7. C 9. P 25. R 6.

4 1–31 G 4.
1–4 R 5.
1 B 2. R 8.
2 C 16, 23. G 34. K 2. O 1. R 8, 11.
4 A 22.
5–31 S 25.
7 I 37.
8 A 22.
9 I 29.
10 B 10.
11 M 29.
12 M 29.
13 I 37.
14 A 1. B 2.
18 S 22.
19–31 W 4.
22 B 14. I 26. W 13.
25 I 37.
26 A 22.
27 G 25. R 3.
28 D 1.
31 B 9.

5 1–31 B 4.
1–6 I 35.
1 C 27. I 40, 42. P 2. T 7.
2 H 15. O 1. P 12.
3 A 11. C 5, 25. G 22. I 28. S 15. T 7.
4 B 14. G 40. I 26. W 13.
5 B 14. G 40. W 13.
6 I 37. S 25.
7–9 I 33. R 15.
7 A 25. I 5. P 2, 38. W 10.
8 A 5. I 37. N 2.
9 S 25.
10 G 25.
11 T 6.
12–14 U 1.
12 C 19. I 32. S 4.
13 I 32. M 32. S 4.
14–19 S 25.
14, 15 A 15.
16 W 4.
17 C 19. W 4.
18 G 25. K 2.
19 A 25. I 5. J 7.
21–24 I 28.
21 B 14. R 9.
22 F 6. G 5, 28.
23 D 11.
24 B 13. G 31. I 33.
25 S 22, 27.
26–31 C 26. D 15. I 35. R 15. W 13.
27 D 10. I 37.
28 O 7, 8. R 22.
29 R 22. S 25.
31 M 32.

6 1–12 S 25.
2 W 21.
7 D 11. V 1. W 13.
8 I 38. R 5. S 27.
9 R 3.
10 I 28. M 35. W 24.
11 A 22. Z 2.
13–15 C 26.
13 B 15. C 33. M 32.
14 C 19. H 1. M 32.
15 C 20.
16–19 I 28.
16 B 2. C 3. R 5, 8. S 15. W 3.
17 M 31.
19–26 S 25.
19 C 3. N 1.
20 F 9. H 15. O 5. W 28.
21 S 33.
22, 23 A 15.
23 M 6.
24–26 W 4.
24 B 9. I 29.
27 M 31.
28 A 11. S 28. W 11, 13.
29 A 11.
30 B 4. R 9. W 11.

7 1–34 G 4.
1 P 37.
3–7 B 11.
4 A 25. Ea. H 15. L 5. S 14.
5 N 2. R 5.

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7 6 H 9. I 5. O 7, 8. W 16.
7 R 8.
8–34 B 4.
8–23 F 9.
8–10 D 15. H 15.
8 C 19. F 4. L 5. S 14.
9 A 5. H 9. I 5, 6, 12. P 12. T 4.
10 A 5. I 19.
11 I 19. R 21.
12–15 S 25.
12 W 5.
13–28 I 28. W 6.
13 C 3. G 23. P 37. R 20.
16 I 41. R 9.
17 I 24.
18–20 A 22.
18 C 9. H 3. I 2, 5, 13, 14, 24. S 26.
19 S 22.
21–23 F 9. O 5.
21 H 15.
23–25 W 6.
23 B 11. O 3. W 3.
24 S 15, 19, 32.
25 G 23. P 37. R 20.
26 E 2. S 32.
27 C 3. M 34.
28 A 11. C 25. F 4. S 15. T 7.
29 A 11. H 8. S 25.
30 I 19, 24.
31 C 10. I 7, 11. R 9.
32–34 S 25.
32 B 16.
33 I 37. W 4.
34 G 31. W 4, 27.

8 1–22 B 4.
1–3 S 25.
1 B 16.
2 B 16. H 3. I 2, 24.
3 D 6.
4–22 C 11. I 28.
5 D 10.
6 W 11, 13.
7–9 W 20.
7 B 14. G 40. H 3. I 26, 33, 37.
8–13 C 26.
8 F 4. P 15. R 22. S 14.
9 B 14. W 22, 24.
10 C 33. M 32.
11 C 19. H 1. M 32. P 6.
12–14 W 15.
12 W 13.
14–17 S 25.
14 R 6. S 20.
15 H 1. S. 20.
16, 17 I 37. W 4.
18 D 17. R 6.
19 A 22. G 36. I 4, 24.
20 D 13. O 6.
21 P 6.
22 G 35. M 4. P 6.

9 1–3 C 11. Z 2.
1 C 14. P 6. W 15.
2–6 T 6.
2 A 5. C 17. D 10. P 6.
3–8 F 4. W 13.
3 B 14. I 26. L 11. S 11. T 7.
4–8 D 15. N 2.
4 H 15. S 28.
5 S 22. T 7.
6 B 14. I 26.
7 R 2.
8 C 21. D 10. H 15. S 28.
9 H 15. S 25.
10–22 W 4.
12 W 18.
13–22 S 25.
13 A 11, 25. B 4.
14 B 4. I 6, 24. S 32.
18 C 14.
21 D 4. P 6.
23 C 18, 33. P 34. R 15. S 11. W. 18, 20, 27.
24 G 12, 21, 25, 34. P 24. W 18.

10 2 E 2. H 3.
3–16 I 22, 24.
5 P 39.
6–10 G 27.
6 G 28.
7 F 6. G 22, 36, 39.
8 I 25.
10 A 22. G 7, 21, 36, 37. T 7.
11 I 23.
12 G 5, 28, 39.
13 B 13. G 5, 28, 31. M 29.
14 I 4, 25.
15 I 23.
16 G 5, 24.
17–22 C 11. S. 25.
19 A 13. R 6.
20 W 4.
21 B 4. C 26. M 32. P 31.
22 I 37.
23 F 3. I 25, 41.
24 A 12, 22. C 5, 25. I 41.
25 A 22. P 31.

11 1 P 37.
2–10 C 28.
4 B 11. G 30. W 3.
5 B 11. O 2.
7 G 23. P 37. R 20.
8 I 28. P 37. S 32. W 13.
9–17 B 4.
10 I 5.
11 P 43. S 25. W 14.
12 C 19. I 5, 6, 12, 22.
13 I 5, 8, 12.
14 I 41. R 9.
15 G 24. I 19. L 4. W 13.
17 I 6, 12. S 25, 26.
18 M 34. P 13, 37.
19 C 21. I 37. M 34. P 13.
20 G 21, 22. I 30. P 28.
22 W 15.
23 R 3.

12 1–6 M 36. T 6.
1 G 21, 33, 34.
2 G 33. H 15. I 36.
3 P 28.
5 C 19.
6 F 4. M 34. P 13.
7–13 G 24. S 25.
7 W 5.
8, 9 I 37.
10 M 32.
11 I 28.
12 I 7. W 5.
13 A 22. I 30.
15 G 23.
16 B 11. I 6. O 1.
17 C 22.

13 1–11 I 39.
1–3 P 37.
9–27 I 24.
9 P 34.
10 I 5. S 32. W 13.

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13 11 G 11, 24.
12–14 P 1.
13 D 19. S 25.
14–16 W 15.
14 P 16. S 25.
15–17 I 28.
15 P 34. R 5. W 22.
16 D 1. R 5.
17 C 14. P 6, 34. Z 2.
18 R 23.
19 S 25.
20 M 32.
21 T 5.
22 J 7. W 15.
23 D 11. I 37.
24 W 15.
25–27 B 4.
25 F 4.
27 A 5. I 7, 20, 28. L 4. W 10.
14 1–6 S 25.
1 P 37.
5, 6 I 37.
7–22 I 41.
7 B 4. P 25. R 6. S 20.
8 A 12. G 35. H 11.
9 A 12. F 3. G 24.
10–18 I 28. S 25.
10 B 4. R 9. S 24. W 13.
11 R 9.
12 A 15. F 5, 9. H 15. O 5. W 14.
13–16 M 32.
13 C 19. T 7.
14 D 10.
16 B 16. S 22.
17 C 14. P 6.
18 C 26. I 25. M 32. W 4.
19–21 A 12. H 1.
20 P 25. R 6. S 20.
21 C 28. P 29.
22 B 13. F 3. G 27, 31. I 22. M 29. W 2.
15 1–9 S 25.
1 I 41. P 37, 43. R 9.
2 D 8.
3 I 37.
5 P 16.
6 A 25. B 4. I 28.
7 A 11. I 28.
8 W 4, 16.
9 W 4.
10 I 43. M 34, 36. P 13.
14 A 22. S 25.
15 A 12. G 23. I 30. M 34. P 13, 28.
16 G 24. J 3. W 22.
17 C 17.
18 D 10, 17. H 1. M 34, 36.
19–21 B 11. M 31.
20 G 13. M 33.
16 1–18 S 25.
1 P 37.
4–6 B 16. D 8. I 37.
5 H 8.
6 I 16.
7 C 35.
9 W 27.
10–13 A 25.
10 B 14. J 7.
11 B 4. I 5, 24. J 7.
12 B 4. D 11. E 2. I 28. S 32.
13 I 5.
14, 15 R 11.
16 I 37.
17 S 23.
18 W 15.
19–21 C 16, 23. K 2.
19 A 12. C 23. F 3. I 22. L 5.
20 I 5, 22.
17 1–4 S 25.
1 B 4. D 11. E 2. I 8. S 23. W 13.
2 B 4. E 2. I 6, 8.
3 I 7.
4 A 22.
5 A 25. C 19. S 14.
6 W 11.
7 F 1. H 11. R 17.
8 F 1. R 17.
9 B 14. D 10, 11. H 15. S 12, 19.
10 G 21, 22. J 6. P 41.
11 C 33. D 15. I 37. J 6. R 15.
12 F 3. G 7, 11.
13 A 25. H 11.
14 H 1.
15–18 P 13.
15 B 10. I 32. S 5.
16 Z 2.
17 A 12. F 3.
18 A 12. I 30. P 28.
21–27 S 1.
23 C 25. I 28.
24–26 B 11. C 30.
18 1–17 P 1.
1 P 37.
6 G 36.
8–10 C 22.
8 R 5, 8.
11–17. C 11.
11 R 5.
12–15 B 4.
12 D 13. H 11. I 28.
13–15 I 24.
15 W 3.
17 S 25. W 14.
18–23 P 13.
18 B 14. C 21. S 28.
19 A 12.
20 I 41. P 29. Z 2.
21–23 I 30. P 28.
21 P 29. W 16.
23 A 22. M 34. P 2.
19 1–15 I 39. P 1. S 25.
1 P 37.
4–6 I 11.
4 A 25. B 4. H 9. I 2, 5, 12, 24.
5 B 4. I 7, 24.
7–9 W 4.
11 B 16.
13 B 4. H 3. I 2, 5, 14.
14 P 37.
15 I 28. S 32.
20 1–18 M 34.
2 P 13.
6 M 32.
7–18 M 38.
7 A 12. B 10. P 13.
8 A 12. P 13. V 1.
9 M 30. P 37. Z 2.
10 M 1. P 13. S 30.
11 F 3. G 28. M 33. P 13.
12 G 21, 22. I 30 P 28.
13 P 13, 19, 21.
14–18 I 30. M 38.
18 P 13.
21 1–7 S 25.
1 P 37.
5 A 22.
6, 7 A 15. P 16.
8 S 3.
10 A 15.

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21 12 A 22. I 40. O 7. R 23.
13 C 19. S 4, 8, 25.
14 S 22, 25.
22 1-4 J 11.
1 P 37.
3 G 21. H 9. I 35, 40. O 7, 8. R 23. V 1. W 16.
4 B 11. G 21.
5 C 22. O 2.
6-9 S 25.
6 R 22.
7 A 15.
8-9 J 7, N 2.
9 A 25. C 28. I 5, 24.
10, 11 R 22.
13-19 C 33. R 15, 22.
13 D 15. N 2. W 1.
14 W 27.
15 B 11. C 19. G 31. W 25.
16 B 11. G 31. P 18. S 4. W 25.
17 H 9. O 7. S 4. V 1.
19 B 16.
20-23 S 25.
21 I 28. P 38.
22 A 7.
23 A 7. P 6. T 5.
28 I 4. R 22.
29 *Ea.* N 1. W 22.
23 1, 2 C 26. M 32. S 25.
3-8 R 11.
3 R 3.
4 M 31.
5 C 13. K 3. M 7, 10, 12, 19, 26.
6 J 12. K 3. M 10, 19, 26. U 3.
8 R. 11.
9-40 C 26, S 25.
9 P 37. W 17.
10-17 B 4.
10 A 5. B 10. V 1.
11-16 M 32.
11 I 19.
13 I 6, 20.
14 A 5. I 20. L 5. W 27.
15 P 36.
17 C 19. S 15, 32.
18 M 31. W 18.
20 A 22.
23 21 M 32.
22 M 31.
23 G 29. H 2.
24 G 19, 22, 29, 38. H 2.
25-32 D 18. M 32.
26 D 10. L 5.
27 I 6, 24. N 2.
28 M 31. W 22.
29 A 15. J 9. W 22.
30 N 2.
34 P 33.
35 N 2.
36 W 22.
24 1-10 I 39. P 1.
1-4 P 37.
5 A 9.
7 A 4. D 12. G 24. R 7, 8. W 3, 19.
8-10 S 25.
8 W 11.
10 A 15.
25 1-4 P 37.
3-8 B 4.
3, 4 C 3. I 28. R 20.
4-6 W 6.
5 R 5, 8.
6 A 22. I 5.
7 A 22. S 26.
8-11 S 25.
10 W 27.
14 P 41. R 13.
15-38 C 36. S 25.
15 A 22. D 19.
16 D 19.
27-29 D 19. P 43.
30 A 22. H 2. V 2.
31 W 15.
37, 38 A 22.
26 1-6 S 25.
1 P 37.
2-7 W 6.
2 M 31. P 37. W 22.
3 C 22. R 5, 8.
4-6 C 3.
4, 5 I 28. P 37. R 20.
7-11 M 34.
8 M 1. P 13.
9-11 P 13.
11 A 3. M 1.
12-15 Z 2.
12 P 37. W 6.
13 B 11. C 22. O 4. R 5, 8. W 6.
15, 16 H 9. P 37.
26 18 I 7.
19 C 22.
21-23 P 13.
23 B 16.
27 1-11 P 1.
1 P 37.
5 B 13. G 5, 6, 28, 36.
6 B 13. G 31, 36.
8 A 15.
9-18 M 32.
9 D 18.
28 2 R 22.
10-17 I 39.
17 M 32.
29 6 M 2.
7 I 41. P 6, 8.
8 D 18.
9 M 32.
10-14 R 11.
10 G 8.
11 G 25. H 11.
12 P 23. R 7.
13 B 3. D 12. P 23. R 7, 8. S 9.
16-19 S 25. W 6.
19 I 28. P 37. R 20.
22 C 34. I 34. V 1.
23 A 5. L 5. G 22. S 23.
24-29 M 34. P 13.
30 P 37.
31 M 32.
30 1 P 37.
2 W 23.
3-22 R 11.
6 B 9. I 29. T 5.
7, 8 G 30.
9 K 3. M 19.
10 F 2.
11 C 25. G 25, 30. R 3.
12-15 W 13.
13 H 1. M 4.
14 C 5.
15 A 9.
16 R 13.
17 G 30, 35. H 1.
18-22 B 13. R 11.
19 G 31.
20 P 20.
21 C 13.
22 A 4. G 24. W 3.
23, 24 A 22.
31 1-40 R 11.
1 A 4. G 24.

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31 2 G 13.
3 G 24.
4 B 13. G 1.
5 B 13.
6 W 28.
7-9 C 16.
7 P 21. R 3.
8 B 9.
9 A 4. G 9, 30. P 23. R 7, 8.
10 G 30. M 27. R 11.
11 G 35.
12-14 J 3. R 16.
12 B 12. P 21. W 28.
13 A 8.
14 B 12. G 24.
15 D 4.
16 R 14.
17 G 25. H 11.
18 A 7. C 5. I 37. R 6. S 15, 20.
19 A 7. C 5. I 38. R 6. S 20.
20 C 6. G 9, 25.
21 W 8.
22 B 1. C 4. G 24. R 6.
23 G 21. R 7.
25 A 8. G 24. J 3.
26 J 3.
28 B 13. G 30.
29 H 5. P 39. S 21.
30 S 21.
31-33 C 30.
32 G 24. H 14. M 2.
33, 34 R 16.
33 A 4. B 12. G 24. W 3, 19.
34 C 16. G 25. H 6. K 2. N 2. P 2. W 18.
35 B 13. G 5, 31.
36 G 8.
37 G 8, 25. H 3.

32 1 P 37.
2 M 34. P 13.
3 A 15. M 34. P 13.
6 P 37.
7-16 L 2.
8 P 37.
16-25 A 12. P 26.
17 G 5, 28. H 3.
18 C 6. G 25, 29. S 21.
19 G 21, 22, 29, 39. J 6. P 41. S 23.
23 I 28.
24 A 15. D 17.
25 A 15. D 17. L 2.
26-35 S 25.
26 P 37.
27, 28 G 27, 28, 36.
29 I 5, 6, 14.
30 A 22. B 4. C 9. S 26.
31 A 22. B 4.
33 A 25. C 25. I 28. P 37. R 20.
34 I 19.
35 C 10. I 6, 7, 11, 24
36 A 15.
37-42 R 11.
37 A 22. G 27.
38 A 4. G 24. W 3.
39 C 7. D 12. F 6. W 19.
40 B 12. C 30. F 6. G 8. P 14. W 19.
41 G 24.
42 G 8.
43 A 15.
44 L 2.

33 1-26 C 16. R 11.
1 M 34. P 13, 37.
2 G 5.
3 P 23.
5 A 22.
6 G 35. H 1. J 3. P 9. T 7.
7 R 11.
8 B 12. G 25. H 6. P 2.
9 F 6. G 11. H 6. J 3.
11 G 12, 25, 31. J 3. P 21. S 2. T 3.
12, 13 I 37.
14 G 8.
15, 16 J 11. K 2. M 12, 14, 19.
17 K 3.
20-26 C 28. G 8.
22 K 2.
25 H 3.

34 1 P 37.
2-10 R 22.
5 C 34.
8-22 C 26, 31. L 7. S 17.
8 P 37.
13-18. C 28.
15-17 N 2.
17-22 A 15.
20 I 37.

35 2-19 W 17.
5-7 T 1.
6-14 A 2.
12-17 I 28, 40.
13 C 25.
14 P 37. R 20.
15 C 2. I 5. R 5, 20.
17 S 25.
18, 19 O 3.

36 2 W 23.
3 C 22. F 6. G 25. P 2. R 5, 8.
4 A 17.
7 A 22. C 22. G 25. R 5.
9 F 5.
18 A 17.
22-24 C 26. I 28.
26 M 1, 34. P 13.
27-32 W 23.
30 B 16.
31 W 15.
32 A 17.

37 2 C 26. I 28.
6-10 C 19. S 25.
8 A 15.
10 A 15.
13-21 M 34. P 13.
13, 14 A 3.
17 S 9.
19 M 32.

38 4-13 M 34. P 13.
4 A 3.
17, 18 A 15.
20 O 4.
23 A 15.

39 6, 7 I 34. V 1.
8, 9 A 15. S 25.
17, 18 A 8. F 1.

40 11 R 3.
15 R 3.

41 5 I 16.

42 2 R 3.
3 S 9.
4 P 37.
7 P 22, 37.
11 F 2.
13 I 28. S 15.
14 S 15.
15 R 3.
18 A 22.
19 R 3.
20 H 15.

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43 1 P 37.
2 I 32. S 5.
5 R 3.
12, 13. I 5, 23.
44 1 P 37.
3–6 A 22. I 24.
3 I 5, 12.
4 R 20. S 26.
5 I 5, 12.
8 I 5, 12.
9 W 21.
10 I 28.
11–14 S 25.
12–14 R 3.
15–19 I 5, 12. W 21.
16 I 28. S 15.
17–19 I 2, 14.
17 H 3. I 28. S 10.
18 H 3.
19 I 13.
21, 22 S 26.
23 W 15.
25 H 3. I 12, 14. V 3. W 21.
27 S 25.
28 R 3. S 25.
45 1 A 17.
3 A 10. D 17.
5 A 18. H 12.

46–52 S 25.

46 1 P 37.
3–12 W 4.
7, 8 P 34.
10 D 3. S 2.
11 M 4.
13 P 37.
15–17 W 5.
18 G 36.
21 W 5.
25 I 5, 23.
27 F 2. R 11.
28 A 8. C 5, 25. F 2. G 25. R 11.
47 1 P 37.
3 W 4.
5 I 16.
6, 7 W 5.
48 6 W 11.
7 C 19. I 24. P 34. S 8.
11 C 19. L 3. P 17. S 29.
13 C 1. I 22.
14 P 34.
15 G 36.
26 D 19. I 32.
27 T 4.
28 I 37. W 4.
29 P 34.
33 W 4.
35 I 5, 7, 10, 12.
36 R 15.
37 I 16.
40 I 37.
41 I 29.
42 I 32.
49 4 C 19. P 34. S 8, 14.
7 W 20.
9 T 4.
10 R 15.
11 C 7. F 2. O 8. W 16.
12 C 36. P 43.
13 O 2.
16 I 37. P 33, 34. S 8, 14.
19 I 37.
22–24 I 29. T 5.
31 S 29.
36 H 3.
37 A 22.
50 1 P 37.
2 I 4, 23.
4–8 C 11. R 11.
4 B 3. D 12. R 7. S 9.
5 C 30. R 7, 8.
6 B 4. I 37. M 32.
7 G 21, 33. H 11. P 13.
8 I 37.
11 I 37.
15 R 13. P 41.
17 I 37.
19 I 37. R 11, 17.
20 G 25. H 6. P 2. R 3, 11, 17.
24 I 32.
25 A 15. W 5.
29 I 32. P 34, 41. R 13. 31, 32. P 34.
33 O 7.
34 G 35.
37 I 29. R 21.
38 I 4.
39 I 37.
42 M 6.
43 I 29. T 5.
44 G 28.
51 2 A 15.
5 G 8, 25. R 11.
6 C 17. P 41. R 11, 13.
7–9 D 19.
7 A 15. C 36.
8 H 1. M 4.
9 H 1, 3. M 4.
10 G 21.
11 A 15.
13 C 33. D 15.
14 O 2.
15 G 5, 22, 28, 39. H 3.
16 B 13. G 5, 31. M 29.
17 I 4, 22.
18 I 22.
19 G 5, 24.
20–23 A 15. G 32.
24 P 41. R 13.
27 I 37.
30–58 W 4.
30 I 29.
37, 38 I 37.
39 D 5, 19.
44 I 23.
45 A 22. C 17.
46–52 S 25.
47 I 4, 23.
48 H 3. J 3. N 1.
50 A 13. C 14.
51 C 14. I 9.
52 I 4, 23.
53 A 15. H 3. P 33, 43.
57 D 5, 19. G 36.
58 W 27.
59–64 W 23.
62 P 37.
52 3 A 22. G 32.
10 I 34. M 1. V 1.
11 M 1. V 1.

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1–10 S 25.
1 P 37.
3–9 S 14.
3 C 18, 19. D 10. P 33, 34. S 8, 11.
4 A 18. H 3. I 37. P 33, 34, 43. S 8, 11.
5 T 4.

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6 R 15. T 4.
7 D 10. F 4. H 15.
8-15 D 3.
8 W 20.
10-14 I 34. W 13.
10 V 1.
12 M 1, 35. S 5.
15-18 S 25.
15 R 13.
16 C 36. P 43. S 22.
17 B 12. H 6. R 3.
19-21 R 11.
21 B 12. K 2.

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1 1-3 P 37.
4-25 A 20.
20 P 37.
26-28 G 11.
2 1-10 C 2. P 37.
3-8 B 4. C 11. I 28.
6-8 M 31.
6 C 27. W 11.
8 C 17. E 2.
9, 10 P 1.
3 1-21 C 2. P 37.
1-3 P 1.
3 W 22.
7-11. I 28.
7 W 13.
8-27 M 31.
8, 9 C 27. M 33.
10 W 22.
12 G 11.
16-21 R 10. W 6.
18-20 W 15.
18 I 26.
19 O 6.
20 A 25. S 33.
23 G 11.
4-7 S 25.
4 1-17 I 39. P 1.
5 1-17. I 39. P 1.
4 W 15.
5-17 B 4. C 11. W 15.
10 R 3.
11 H 15. I 19. P 16.
13 A 22.
15 A 22. C 25.
6 2 P 37.
3-9 I 24.
3 I 7. N 1.
4-13 I 4, 8.
4 I 4.
5 B 16.
6 I 4, 7.
7 J 10.
8 R 3.
9 A 7. R 7. W 10.
10 A 9. G 21.
11 M 31.
12 A 22.
6 13 I 4, 7, 10, 24.
7 1 P 37.
3 A 22. G 21. J 6. P 41.
4-6 W 15.
4 J 6, 10. P 16, 41.
7-19 D 3.
8 A 22. G 21.
9 P 16.
10 P 34.
11 V 1.
16-18 C 24. R 4.
16 I 37. P 43. R 7.
17 I 29.
19 I 24. P 43. R 15. S 33.
20-22 I 4, 19, 24. P 36.
20 I 19. P 34.
22 R 21.
23 V 1.
24 P 34, 36.
25 C 19. R 4.
26 C 24. R 4.
27 J 6. P 41.
8 1 P 37.
3-16 I 19.
3 H 3. I 4.
4 G 11.
5-18 I 24.
5 I 4.
10 I 3, 4, 5.
11 I 12.
12 B 10. C 19. I 4, 32. S 4, 5.
14 W 21.
15, 16 I 2.
17 A 22. V 1.
18 H 15. P 16. S 25. W 14.
9 1-11 S 25.
2 A 15.
3 G 11.
4-6 J 6.
4 G 30. Z 2.
5-10 I 24 W 15.
5 P 16.
6 G 30.
9 8 I 41.
9 B 10. C 19. G 22. H 9. I 32. S 4, 5.
10 P 16, 41. S 22. W 15.
10 1-22 A 20.
1-7 S 25.
4 G 11.
18, 19 G 11.
11 1 P 37.
2-21 B 4.
2 S 5.
3 I 32. P 35. S 5.
4-12 S 25.
4 P 37.
5 G 22. P 37.
11, 12 J 10. W 13.
13 G 23, 25. I 41. R 3.
16 A 8. G 30.
18-20 R 7, 11.
19 B 12. D 12. H 7. R 8. W 19.
20 A 4. B 12. D 12. R 8. W 3, 19.
21 P 41. S 22. W 15.
22, 23 G 11.
24 P 37.
25 W 23.
12 1-20 P 1. S 25.
1 P 37.
2 B 14. I 28.
3-20 I 29.
3 C 22. R 5.
16 J 10. R 3.
19 V 1.
20 J 10.
21 P 37.
22 B 10. I 32. P 35, 39. S 5.
23 P 39.
26 P 37.
27 B 10. I 32. P 35. S 5.
28 P 35.
13 1 P 37.
2-23 C 26. M 32.
5 D 3. L 11.

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13 6–9 L 5.
6 H 11.
9 J 10.
10, 11 C 19.
13 A 22.
14 J 10.
17–23 W 21.
19 B 15. L 5.
21–23 J 10.
14 1–23 I 24. S 25.
2 P 37.
3–7 I 4. W 14.
3 S 33.
4 H 15. S 33. W 14.
6 R 5.
7 H 15. J 10. S 33.
8 H 15. J 10.
9, 10 M 32. S 22.
10, 11 A 4, 9. M 32. W 3.
12 P 37.
13, 14 B 4. J 8. W 25.
14–20 I 42.
20 W 25.
21 D 4.
22, 23 G 21, 25. R 3.
15 1–8 P 1, 37. S 25.
7 J 10.
8 B 4.
16 1–63 B 4. C 11. P 1, 37.
4–6 C 6.
4 A 1.
5 P 16.
6–14 G 24.
6 G 25.
8 C 28.
14 B 12.
15–63 I 24. L 4. W 10.
15 F 10.
16 I 7.
17–22 I 33.
17 I 4, 20.
18 I 10, 12.
19 B 13. I 10, 13.
20, 21 C 10. I 11.
24, 25 I 7, 20.
26 F 10.
29 F 10.
30 L 11.
31 I 7. W 1.
32 A 5. W 21.
34 W 1.
35–43 S 25.
36 I 4, 11.
16 38–41 A 5.
38 I 11. W 21.
39 I 7.
41 W 1.
42 A 22. G 25. J 1.
43 I 20. P 41.
44 P 39.
47 W 13.
49 I 1. P 18, 34, 38.
50 G 36.
56 P 34.
59–63 C 28.
59 C 31. J 6. P 41.
60 G 8.
61–63 G 25. R 7.
62 G 8. J 10. R 8.
63 H 12.
17 1–10 P 1, 37.
11–21 P 37. S 25.
13–19 C 31.
17 C 19.
22–24 C 16. K 2.
24 G 36.
18 1–32 C 6. P 37. R 10.
2–4 H 5. I 32. P 39. S 21.
4–30 W 15.
4–9 J 6. R 16, 17, 18. W 25.
4 D 9. G 36.
5 I 40. W 25.
6 I 4. N 2.
7 A 6, 16. P 7, 18. V 1.
8–17 I 43.
8 B 15.
9 I 40.
10 H 9. R 21.
11 N 2.
12 A 6, 16. I 4. P 7, 20. V 1.
13 B 15.
15 I 4. N 2.
16 A 6, 16. P 7, 18. V 1.
17 B 15. P 18.
18 M 1. O 7. V 1.
19–32 J 6.
19 H 5. O 3. R 17.
20–28 D 9. J 5.
20 H 5. R 17.
21–32 P 11. R 5. S 9.
21, 22 P 2.
23 G 25.
25–32 G 4.
18 24 A 25.
25 B 10. G 21.
26 A 25.
29 G 21. I 32.
30 B 2. G 21. P 41.
31 D 9. G 25.
32 G 25. S 3.
19 1–14 P 1.
2–9 I 37.
5 H 11.
12–14 S 25.
20 2 P 37.
3 W 14.
7–44. I 4, 24.
7 E 2.
8 A 22. I 28. W 15.
10–26 I 33. S 1
11–44 G 25.
13 A 25. B 4. I 28. P 36.
15 B 4.
16 A 25. B 4. S 19, 24. W 13.
17 G 23.
18 E 2.
21 A 22. I 28. P 36.
24 A 25. B 4. P 36. S 24.
26 C 10. I 11.
27 B 4, 10.
28 I 10, 12, 14.
29 I 7.
30 W 10.
31 C 10 I 11. W 14.
33–44 R 11. S 25.
37 C 28.
38–48 J 10.
39 H 15.
43 A 7. B 4. R 7.
45 P 37.
49 I 32.
21 1–32 P 37. S 25.
2 I 39.
5 J 10.
6 I 39. P 6.
7 I 29, 39. P 6.
8 P 37.
18 P 37.
21 I 4, 21.
24 S 23.
25 R 22.
26, 27 G 32, 36. K 3. R 22.
27 E *a*.
22 1–3 H 9. I 34. P 37.

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22 4 I 4, 24.
6 H 9. R 22.
7 C 9. O 7, 8. P 3, 20. W 16.
8 B 10. P 36. S 1.
9 H 9. L 4. S 28.
11 A 5. I 31. L 4. N 2.
12 B 1, 15. C 33. E 3. H 9. I 43. O 7.
13-22 S 25.
13 B 15. C 33. D 15. H 9. R 15.
14 W 15.
16 J 10. P 36.
17 B 15.
17-22 P 37. R 9. W 11.
18 B 4.
20-22 A 22. W 15.
23-31 C 26. P 37.
25-28 M 32.
25 I 37. W 16.
26 B 10. P 36. S 1, 7. V 1.
27 C 33. D 15. H 9. R 22.
29 O 7. P 20. T 4.
30 C 27. I 41. L 11.
31 A 22. P 41. S 22, 25.
23 1-49 B 4. C 11. I 20, 24. L 4. P 1, 37. W 10.
5, 6 C 17. R 15.
7 C 17. I 4.
12-17 C 17.
12 R 15.
14 I 4.
18 S 27.
22-49 S 25.
23 R 15.
25 G 20. J 1.
30-49 I 4.
31-35 S 22.
32 D 19.
35 B 1.
37 A 5. H 9. I 11.
38 S 1.
39 I 11, 19. P 36.
41 I 12.
43-48 A 5.
45 W 21.
49 J 10. L 4.
24 1-14 P 37. S 25.
3-14 I 39. P 1.
6-9 I 34.
9-14 C 5.
9 H 9.
13 I 28. L 4. W 15.
14 W 15.
15-18 B 6. M 34. P 37.
16-27 I 39.
20, 21 P 16, 36, 37.
24 J 10.
25-32 S 25.
25 1 P 37.
3-17 M 1.
3 P 36. S 5.
5 I 37. J 10.
7 J 10. W 15.
11 J 10.
14-17 A 22.
26 1, 2 M 1. P 37. S 5.
6 J 10.
13 W 27.
15, 16 P 37.
17 P 6.
27 1-3 P 34, 37.
26-36 P 1.
29, 32 P 6.
28 1-9 P 34, 37. S 11.
2 R 22.
5 R 15.
8-10 D 8.
11-19 P 1, 37.
14 A 20, 24.
16 P 36. V 1.
17 P 34.
18 I 9.
20 P 37.
22 G 2.
24 W 11.
29 1 P 37.
5 I 37.
6, 7 C 19.
9 J 10. P 34.
16 J 10.
17-20 P 37. W 1.
19, 20 G 32.
21 R 11.
30 1-9 P 37. D 3.
6 P 34.
8 C 19. J 10.
13 I 4, 23.
18 P 34.
20 P 37.
21 M 4.
25, 26 J 10.
31 1-18 P 1, 37.
9 E 1.
10-14 S 11.
10, 11 P 33, 34.
13 I 37.
18 D 8.
32 1 P 37.
4 I 37.
7, 8 D 1. H 3.
10 R 4.
17 P 37.
18-32 B 16. D 8. I 29. M 35.
31 I 27.
33 1-20 M 31. O 6. P 37. R 10.
4, 5 I 28.
6-8 I 26.
7-20 G 21. W 15.
8-18 D 9.
8 W 6.
9 I 28.
10-20 C 22. G 4. P 11. R 5.
10 C 24. H 11. R 4.
11 G 25.
12-19 A 25. W 25.
14-16 O 3. P 2.
15 P 7. R 18, 21.
17 B 10. I 32.
18-20 J 6.
20 B 10. I 32. S 5.
22-29 P 37. S 25.
24-26 S 14.
25 I 4. H 9.
26 A 5. N 2.
28 P 34.
29 J 10.
30-33 F 8. H 15. I 32, 36. P 37.
31 C 33. M 34.
32 M 34. W 24.
34 1-31 M 30, 31, 32. P 1, 37.
2-25 C 26. I 37. R 22.
4 H 1. I 34.
10 M 27.
11-31 R 17.
11-16 G 30. R 11.
12 D 3.
17-22. C 26.
18 S 13.
22 G 30.
23-31 B 12. C 16. R 11.
23 C 13. K 3. M 10, 26, 27.
24 G 24.

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34 25 C 30. P 9. U 3.
26 B 13.
29 M 19, 23.
30, 31 G 24, 30. W 3.
35 1–15 P 37. S 25.
5 A 21. M 1.
6 H 9.
10 F 7.
11 A 21, 22. E 1.
12, 13 B 10.
15 R 13.
36 1, 2 I 7, 32. M 1. N 1. P 37. S 5.
3 S 5.
5, 6 G 20. J 1.
8–15 G 31. R 11.
16 P 37.
18 I 4, 19.
19 G 21. P 41.
20 B 10. P 36.
21 G 15. P. 16, 36.
22 G 15.
23 B 10.
24 38 R 11.
25–27 B 12.
25 A 1. D 11. G 25. I 4. P 44.
26 D 11. W 19.
27 H 7. W 3, 19.
28–38 B 13. G 31.
28 A 4. W 3.
29 G 35.
31 R 7.
33 D 3.
37 P 23.

37 1–28 R 11.
1–14 I 10, 27. P 37. R 12.
1–3 D 11.
9 H 7.
11 H 11.
12 D 4.
14 B 12. H 7.
15–28 P 37. U 3.
16–22 I 39.
23–28 B 12. R 8.
23 A 1, 4. G 35. I 4. R 7. W 3.
24 K 3. M 10, 27. W 3.
26 C 28, 30. P 9.
27, 28 A 4. F 7. G 13, 24. W 3.
38 1–23 P 37. S 25.
14–19 D 3.
19 A 22. J 1.
22, 23 J 10.
39 1–24 P 37. S 25.
4 I 37.
6 S 8.
7 G 15. P 36.
8–22 D 3.
10 R 21.
11–15 B 16.
13 G 2.
17–20 S 2. W 4.
17 I 37.
24 J 6. P 41.
25–29 R 11.
25 G 15.
29 B 5. G 13. H 7.

40 1–4 P 37.
42 20 S 7.
43 2–5 G 11. P 37.
7–9 I 23. W 10.
7 B 16. I 7.
8 A 22.
20 B 13.
44 4 G 11.
5 W 22.
6–9 C 15.
7 C 28. I 19. P 36.
8 M 32.
9 R 16.
10–12 I 24.
10 I 4. M 32.
12 I 4.
15 F 3. Z 2.
21 W 17.
22 W 16.
23 M 31. S 7.
24 J 4. S 1.
45 8 O 7.
9 H 10. J 11. O 7. R 22. V 1.
10 D 15. H 10. M 3.
20 I 26.
46 1 S 1.
17 L 7.
18 L 2. O 7.
47 1–12 C 16. K 2. R 11.
8–11 H 1.
48 11 M 32.
15 S 7.
35 D 3. F 7. G 13.

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40 1–11 G 41.
1 A 8.
2 A 8. G 25. P 2. S 25.
3 M 10, 19. W 8.
4–11 C 16. K 2.
5 C 23.
6 L 8.
7 D 4. L 8.
8 G 16. W 22.
9 M 10.
10 G 28. K 3. M 10, 19, 21, 26. R. 14, 17.
11 B 12. C 7. G 14, 24, 25, 30. I 37. M 8, 10, 26, 27. R 17.

40 12–31 G 17, 18. I 22.
12 G 5, 28. H 3.
13–28 G 22.
13 G 39. H 7.
14 G 39. I 38.
16 O 5.
19, 20 I 4.
21 B 14.
22–28 G 28.
22 G 36.
23 G 36. R 32.
24 L 8.
25 G 27.
26 G 5.
27–31 R 11.
27 B 10, 14. D 17.

40 28 B 14. D 17. G 5, 7, 16, 38. M 10.
29 A 8. B 12. G 30. R 17.
31 B 12. D 12. G 30. I 37. R. 17. W 2.
41 2–4 G 32.
2 R 19. W 11.
4 G 7, 22.
6 N 2.
8–10 G 24.
9–20 A 8. B 12.
10 F 2. G 13, 25, 34. R 17, 19.
11–16 S 25.
11 R 17. S 31.
13 F 2. G 25. R 17.

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41 14 F 2. G 15, 25, 35. M. 19. R 17.
15 A 15.
16 G 15. J 3.
17–20 C 16.
17 P 19.
20 G 5.
21–24 G 4. I 22.
21 G 36.
23 I 5. P 39.
26 G 10, 34.
27 G 41.
28 I 29.
29 I 4, 22.

42 1–12 C 16, 23.
1 H 7. M 19, 25. P 32.
2 M 5, 12, 17. S 31.
3 A 8. B 2. K 2. M 8. S 31. T 7.
4 K 2. W 2.
5 G 5, 6.
6 C 23. G 34. M 18, 19, 26. R 19. W 19.
7 B 14. M 18, 26. W 19.
8 G 11, 20, 27. I 4.
9 G 10, 22.
10–21 P 21.
12 G 2.
13 G 20, 28, 30. Z 1.
14–17 R 11.
14 G 23. T 5.
15 G 5.
16 G 8, 14, 30. W 19.
17 I 4, 5, 24.
18–23 C 3.
18–20 B 14.
21 G 34. M 20. R 19.
22–25 I 28.
22 R 21.
24 S. 15, 25.
25 A 11, 22. C 5. S 25.

43 1–19 G 4.
1–8 G 24. R 11.
1 F 2. G 6, 35.
2 A 8. F 2. R 17.
3 G 30, 35.
5 F 2. G 13, 25. R 17.
6 A 4.
7 A 4. G 6.
8 D 11.
9 T 7.
10 F 2. G 7, 27. P 32.
11 G 27, 35.
12 I 22. J 2.
13 G 7, 28.
14–21 R 11.
14 G 15, 32, 35. M 19.
15 G 6, 15, 36.
16, 17 G 28.
20 B 13. G 31.
21 G 13. P. 21.
22–28 C 11. I 33.
22, 23 B 4. G 23. P 31.
24 B 4. S 26.
25 P 2.
26 P 2. W 26.
27 M 32.
28 M 32. W 5.

44 1–5 C 23. S 3.
1 G 24. P 32.
2–6 R 17.
2 F 2. G 6, 24, 25. P 32.
3–5 C 7, 16. S 9.
3 B 5, 12. G 13, 25. H 7, 13. S 9.
5 C 15.
6 G 7, 27, 35, 36. M 10, 19.
7 G 10, 22. P 32.
8 F 2. G 27. J 2.
9–20 I 22.
9, 10 I 4.
11 I 24.
15 I 4.
17 I 4, 15.
18 B 14.
20 B 14. M 32. S 19.
21 G 6, 8, 24.
22–24 G 35.
22 G 24. P 2. R 5.
23 J 3. N 1. P 21.
24 G 5, 6.
25 L 5.
26–28 R 11.
26 P 37.
27 G 28.
28 G 32.

45 1–7 C 2. G 32.
1 A 23.
2 G 30.
4 G 22, 30.
5 G 27. J 2.
6 C 16, 23. G 2, 27.
7 A 10. G 5, 36. P 8. W 5.
8 B 12. C 16. K 2. N 1. P 21.
9 B 10. I 32. P 33.
10 I 32. P 33.
11, 12 B 13. G 4, 5, 6, 10, 15.
13 G 34. L 7. R 14. 19.
14 C 16. J 2.
15 G 35, 38. M 19.
16 I 4, 22, 24.
17 G 35. S 3.
18–25 C 23. R 3.
18 G 5, 6, 27. J 2.
19 G 15, 34. S 9.
20 I 4, 15, 22.
21 G 21, 22, 27, 3 J 2.
22 G 27, 35. J 2. S
23 C 16. G 34, 3 K 2. R 19.
24 B 12. C 16. J 1 K 2.
25 B 12. J 3, 12.

46 1 I 4, 22.
2 I 22, 24.
3, 4 G 30, 31. R 3.
5 G 17, 27.
6 I 22.
7 I 15, 22.
8 R 5.
9 G 10, 27. J 2.
10 G 10, 22, 28.
11 G 28.
12 G 35. I 28. J 12
13 C 16. G 34, 3 R 11, 19. S 3.

47 1–15 S 25.
1 W 27.
4 G 15, 35.
7–10 P 34. W 27.
7 C 19. S 8, 14.
8 C 19. P 17. W 1
9 S 8. W 16.
10 C 19. I 32.
11 I 32.
12–15 I 22.
14 W 11.

48 1 H 15. P 12.
2 H 6, 15.
3–6 G 22.
3 G 10.
4 I 28.
5 I 4.
6 G 10.

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48 7 G 5.
8 B 14. D. 11. H 5. I 28. T 6.
9 A 22. G 23.
10 A 7, 9. R 2.
11 G 11, 20, 23, 27. P 36.
12–16 M 10.
12 G 7, 24.
13 G 5, 28.
14, 15 G 32.
16 H 7.
17 G 14, 30, 31, 35. W 19.
18 P 9.
20, 21 B 13. G 31. P 21.
20 G 24, 35. J 3. P 21. T 3.
22 C 19. R 4. W 13, 15.

49 1–26 K 2.
2 M 23.
3 M 19.
4 M 24. R 14.
5, 6 M 25.
6–12 C 16.
6–9 C 23. M 26.
7–26 R 11.
7 G 8, 15, 35. M 12 19. P 13.
8–13 B 13.
9–12 R 17. S 9.
9 G 30.
10 G 30, 31. S 3.
11 S 3. W 8.
13–17 G 24, 41.
13 A 8. J 3. N 1. P 21.
14 B 14. D 17.
15, 16 G 8.
17 G 30.
18–23 C 16.
22, 23 C 23. U 3. W 2.
25 G 30, 35.
26 A 19. D 19. G 28–35. M 19.

50 1–11 M 24.
1–3 R 11.
1 D 16. S 22.
2–4 M 21.
2 C 3. D 17. G 28, 35. M 26.
3 D 1. M 29.
4–10 A 8.
4 M 22. P 5. W 23.
5 M 12, 17, 19, 20.
6 M 17, 19, 20, 28. P 13.
7–9 R 17.
7 E 2.
8 J 12. M 26.
9 L 8. M 26. W 11.
10 F 2, 6. S 3.
11 P 5. S 14, 22. W 15.

51 1 H 12. S 9.
2 B 13. C 2. G 31.
3–16 A 8. C 16.
3 J 3. P 21. T 3.
4–6 S 3.
4 C 23.
5 C 23. J 12. R 19. W 2.
6–8 K 2.
6 G 8, 34. H 3. J 12. R 19.
7 H 6. M 35. P 13. R 16.
8 G 8, 34. L 8. R 19 W 11.
9–16 P 21. R 11.
9 A 12. G 7, 30. M 19.
10 G 28, 30. M 19.
11 J 3. R 1, 17. T 3.
12 D 4. G 24. L 8. P 13.
13 G 5, 6. H 3. O 7. P 13.
15 G 28.
16 G 5, 24. H 3. W 23.
17–20 B 4.
17 C 36. D 19.
18 I 29.
19 P 16.
20 A 22.
21–23 D 19.
22 C 36. G 30.

52 1–15 C 16. R 11.
1 H 6. R 16.
3 G 35.
4 O 7.
5 A 9. B 10.
6 A 9. D 3.
7–10 J 3. P 21.
7 G 41. K 3. P 9.
8 S 3. U 3.
9 G 35.
10 G 15, 28, 35. S 3.
11 H 6. M 30.
12 G 30.
13–15 M 28.
13 K 3. M 17.
14 P 13.
15 C 23.

53 1–12 M 9, 28.
1–4 M 24. U 1.
1 W 24.
2–10 P 13.
3 M 19.
4–12 A 27.
4 C 5. M 8.
5 C 5. H 1. P 9.
6 D 11.
7–9 P 5.
7 I 37. M 5, 17.
9 D 10. M 12, 23. V 1.
10–12 C 16. K 2. M 16, 26.
11 J 12. M 19, 26. T 5.

54 1–17 C 16. G 25. R 11, 17.
1–3 K 2.
1 C 6. J 3. T 5.
4–17 A 8.
4 D 16. W 16.
5 G 5, 6, 24, 35, 36. H 14. M 2, 19.
6 G 24. H 14.
7–10 G 8.
8 G 13, 25, 35. K 1.
9, 10 C 30. G 24. P 9.
13 C 7. P 9. R 16. W 19.
14–17 G 30.
16 G 6, 32.
17 B 12. G 32. J 12.

55 1–13 C 16. R 11, 17.
1–7 B 12. S 3.
1, 2 D 12. H 13.
3 C 30. G 13, 24. K 3. M 6.
4 C 13. G 14. K 3. M 19.
5 C 2, 23. K 2.
6 D 12. P 23, 24. R 5. S 9.
7–9 G 18, 25, 38.
7 P 2, 23. R 5, 8.
10–13 K 2.
10 B 13. G 31. H 3. M 29. W 22.
11 W 22.

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55 12 J 3. N 1. P 9, 21. R 18. S 3.
13 R 18. S 3. W 11.
56 1 G 34. I 40. J 11, 12. R 19. S 3.
2–7 S 1.
3–8 C 16, 23. K 2. R 17.
4 C 28.
6–8 S 3.
6 C 23, 28. G 34. P 36.
7 C 15, 23. J 3. W 28.
8 R 11.
9–12 M 32. S 25.
10 B 14. I 1, 37.
11 C 33. G 3.
12 C 19. D 19. G 3. S 10, 16. W 27.
57 1–13 S 25.
1 D 7. G 25. R 17.
2 D 7. H 6. P 9. R 17.
3–13 I 24, 32.
3 A 5. W 10.
4 S 5.
4–11 I 32.
5 C 10. I 4, 11.
6 I 10, 13, 14.
7, 8 I 7, 20.
9 D 11.
10 H 11.
11 F 4. I 28.
12 W 26.
13 C 19. F 1. I 22.
14 G 30. S 33. W 8.
15–19 G 25.
15 F 7. G 7, 15, 29. H 2, 12. R 8.
16 A 22.
17 A 10, 11, 22. C 5, 33.
18 B 2, 12. G 14. H 1. S 3.
19 B 2, 12. H 1. P 9. S 3.
20 R 4. S 22. W 11, 13.
21 C 19. R 4. S 22. W 13, 15.
58 2 A 25. H 15. I 36.
3–7 F 5.
3 P 33. U 1.
4 S 31
5 H 15.
6–14 A 6, 16. N 2. R 18.
6 K 1. L 7. O 7. R 23.
7 A 16. K 1. P 18.
8–12 B 12. R 17.
9 P 23.
10 A 8, 16. P 18.
11 G 14, 30.
12 C 14. Z 1.
13, 14 S 1.
59 1 F 3. G 16, 28, 35. S 27.
2–8 W 13.
2 I 28. S 27. W 14.
3 F 4. H 9.
4–7 M 1.
4 F 4. T 7.
5 I 37.
6 V 1.
7 H 9.
8 J 11. P 9.
9–14 C 20.
10 W 11.
11 I 37.
12–15 D 11. R 6. S 20.
12 P 25.
13 A 25. B 1. F 4. O 7. P 25.
14 J 11. R 22. T 7.
15 G 21. P 13. R 22. T 7.
16 I 41. M 26.
17 M 12, 26, 28. S 25. Z 2.
18 J 6. P 41. S 25.
19–21 C 16. K 2.
19 F 6. G 30. H 7.
20 M 19, 26. R 8, 17.
21 C 30. H 7. R 17. W 23.
60 1–22 C 16. R 11.
1–9 C 23. K 2.
1 H 6. Z 1.
2 B 14.
3 C 23.
5 F 6. R 15.
6 P 21.
7 L 6. W 28.
8 I 37.
9 L 6. W 2.
10–15 C 23.
10 A 22. G 13, 25.
11 R 15.
12 C 22.
16 G 28, 35. R 15.
17 L 6. P 9. R 23.
60 18 F 3. G 35. V 1.
20 M 19.
21 G 2. H 6. R 16.
61 1–11 C 16. R 11.
1–3 A 8. G 41. M 18, 26. S 3.
1 H 7. L 7. M 5, 25. P 19. R 8.
2 D 3. R 8.
3 A 24. G 2. J 3. P 21.
4 Z 1.
6 R 15.
7 J 3.
8 C 30. G 21. H 15. J 11. R 21. T 4.
9 C 7. G 31.
10 J 3, 12.
62 1–12 C 16.
1 C 14. I 41. P 6. R 18. Z 2.
4, 5 B 7. G 24. H 14. M 2.
6 C 14. I 41. P 6. Z 1, 2.
7 C 14. I 41. P 6, 27. Z 2.
9 G 31.
10 W 8.
11 M 26. R 14.
12 G 35. R 16.
63 1 M 19, 21.
3–6 A 22. S 25.
4 D 3.
5 M 26.
6 D 19.
7–9 G 24. M 8.
7 G 12. P 21. T 3.
8 A 4. F 4. G 3. M 26. R 16.
9 A 8, 20. G 30, 3. M 19, 26. P 1. S 3.
10–14 H 7. I 33. S 2.
11–19 G 24.
11 P 37.
12 G 7, 28.
13, 14 I 37.
15–17 A 12.
15 H 2.
16 A 4. G 7, 9.
17–19 I 41.
17 B 4.
19 G 9. W 13.
64 1 A 12.

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64 4 R 17. W 2.
5–7 R 6. S 20.
5 W 15.
6 D 11. L 8. S 14. W 26.
7 P 31. S 27. W 15.
8–12 A 12. I 41.
8 A 4. G 6, 9.
9–12 A 12.
12 P 27.
65 1–25 C 16.
1–16 G 4.
1 C 23. S 9.
2 B 4. G 25.
3–5 S 14.
3 B 4. I 8, 10, 12, 24, 44.
4 B 16. I 24.
5 A 22. B 8. H 15. P 33.
6 H 5. P 33. S 25.
7 B 10. H 5. S 21, 25.
8–10 R 3.
8 I 41.
10 I 37.
11–16 S 25.
11 A 25. I 14.
12 A 25. C 3. I 28. R 9.
13 G 31. R 17. W 12.
14 J 3. R 17. W 12.
15 I 28.
16 G 8, 37. T 7.
17–25 K 2. R 17.
17 G 5. H 4.
18 G 5. J 3.
19 C 14. G 24. J 3.
20 L 10.
23 C 7. G 31.
24 P 23.
25 I 37. U 3. V 1.
66 1 G 17, 19, 29. H 3.
2 B 13. F 6. G 5. H 12. P 18.
3 H 15. I 4, 24. O 5.
4–6 S 25.
4 C 3. I 24, 28. R 9.
5 A 8. P 13.
6 V 2.
7–23 C 16, 23. K 2. R 11.
7, 8 T 5.
10–14 J 3. P 6.
10 C 14.
12 P 9.
13 A 8. C. 14. G 24. R 17.
14–19 S 25.
14 A 8. C 14. R 17.
15 A 22.
17 I 24.
18–24 C 23.
18 G 22.
22 G 5. H 4.
23 S 1.
24 S 25. W 12.

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1 1 P 37.
2–11 L 11. P 4.
4 S 13. W 27.
5 R 5.
6 W 1.
7 R 5. S 12.
8 L 6. W 29.
9 C 5. S 13.
10 H 3. S 25.
11 S 25.
12 F 6. O 3.
13 G 13. P 37. R 17.
14 Z 2.
2 1 P 37.
4 C 27. G 13. R 17. Z 1.
5 C 27, 28. G 8. H 7.
6 E *a*. M 29.
7–9 C 16. E *a*. K 2.
7 M 19. C 23.
8 G 36. R 15.
9 P 9.
10–14 C 7.
10 P 37.
14 W 13.
15, 16 L 11. S 12.
17 A 11. C 5. I 28. S 25.
18 L 6. S 12.
19 G 31. L 6. P 38.
20 P 37.
21 M 29.
22 A 19.
23 G 24. P 32.

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1 1 P 37.
3 B 2. E *a*. R 5, 8.
4 E 2. R 5. S 15.
5 D 4.
6 P 41.
7 P 37.
8–21 P 1.
9–14 A 20.
12, 13 M 16. S 25.
14 G 20, 24. J 1.
16, 17 G 25.
19 S 25.
2 1–13 P 1.
3 A 20.
4 G 25.
5 G 13, 30.
6 H 3.
8 G 24, 30.
9 G 25. M 6. P 37.
10 C 16. F 7. K 2.
11 C 15, 16, 23. K 2. Z 2.
12 G 8.
13 F 6. H 2.
3 1–10 P 1.
1–6 A 20.
2 A 20. S 3.
4 G 25. J 12.
7 B 11. G 31. R 16, 17.
8 M 19.
9 G 25. J 12.
10 N 2. P 39.
4 1–14 A 20. P 1.
1–7 H 7.
1 A 20.
6 C 19. G 30.
7 G 30. M 26.
8 P 37.
10 G 30. K 2.
5 1–11 P 1.
3 D 15. F 4. S 25. T 4.
4 D 15. F 4. P 12. S 25. T 4.
9 H 3.
6 1–15 P 1.
5 A 20.

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6 9 P 37.
12 K 3.
13 K 3. M 16. P 9.
14 K 1.
15 C 16. K 2.
7 1 P 37.
3 A 2.
5 F 5. H 15.
6 H 15. S 13.
7 W 22.
9 I 40. J 11. K 1. M 6. R 23. T 7.
10 F 11. K 1. M 1. O 7. P 18. R 23. W 16.
11–13 C 3. S 25.
11 S 15.
12 B 12. P 37. H 7. W 13, 23.
13 W 14.
8 1 P 37.
2 G 20. J 1.
3 B 12. F 7. G 13, 25. T 7.
4 L 10.
5 C 7. G 1.
8 A 4. C 30. G 9, 21, 22, 24. W 3, 28.
9 F 2. Z 1.
10 N 2. W 1, 5.
12 G 31. H 3.
16 F 4. J 11. N 2. P 8. R 23. T 7.
17 F 4, 11. K 1. M 1. N 2. P 12. S 26.
18 P 37.
19 F 5. P 8. T 7.
20–23 C 16, 23. K 2. S 9. Z 2.
21, 22 W 28.
22, 23 C 15.
9 1–8 S 25.
1 C 16, 23. K 2.
2 W 20.
3 W 9.
8 G 30. O 7.
9–17 C 16.
9 C 13. G 36. K 3. M 12, 13, 15, 26.
10 C 23. K 2, 3. P 8.
11 C 29. G 8, 35.
12 F 2. G 35. H 11.
14–16 G 30.
14 G 28.
16 G 13, 35.
17 G 31.
10 1 B 13. G 31. M 29. P 23.
2 D 18. I 4, 22. M 32.
3 A 22. M 32.
6–12 R 11. U 3.
6 B 2, 12. G 25. P 23.
7 J 3.
8 I 37. G 35.
11 P 34.
12 B 12.
11 4 M 32.
5 M 32. P 16. R 15.
6 A 19. P 16. S 25.
7 B 12. H 12. M 5. P 19.
8 G 35.
9 A 19.
10 C 28.
11 H 12. M 5. P 19.
12, 13 M 28.
14 F 11. U 3.
16 H 1. M 32.
17 M 32.
12 1 G 5, 6. P 37.
2 C 36.
3 G 1.
7–10 B 12.
8 G 30.
9 S 25.
10 B 5. H 7. M 9 R 7, 8.
13 1 A 1. M 18, 19 P 44.
2–5 M 32.
2 I 4, 23.
6 H 15.
7 M 9, 10, 19, 27, 28 S 25.
8 S 25.
9 A 4, 7. G 24. P 23 44. R 2. T 2. W 3
14 1 D 3. S 25.
2 I 34. S 25.
6–8 S 3.
8–21 C 16, 23. K 2.
9 B 12. C 23. G 36.
12 S 25.
13 A 19.
14 W 9.
16–19 C 22, 23. G 36 W 29.
16 C 15. G 36.
20, 21 H 6. S 7. Z 1

MALACHI

1 1 P 32, 37.
2–7 U 1.
2 G 24. K 2. P 32.
3 G 24. P 32.
4 S 25.
6–14 F 9. H 15. M 32.
6 B 4. C 8. F 6. G 9. S 17.
7 I 32.
9 W 14.
11 C 16, 23. K 2. W 28.
12 P 36.
14 G 36. V 3.
2 1–3 M 32.
2–17 I 28.
2 G 2.
3, 4 A 9.
4–10 C 28.
5, 6 P 9.
6 I 40. M 30. T 7. Z 1.
7 K 4. M 30, 31.
8, 9 M 32.
10–16 T 6.
10 F 11. G 6, 9, 27. P 36.
11–13 I 24. W 14.
11 H 14. M 2. P 36.
13–16 F 9. M 2.
13 H 15.
14–16 D 16.
14 G 36. S 23.
15 W 7.
16 V 1.
17 G 40. I 32. S 4.
3 1 A 20. C 30. M 10, 1
2 D 3. G 21. M 1 18. P 44. R 2.
3 A 9. M 14, 18. P 4 R 2, 18. W 28.
4 W 28.
5 A 5. C 7. G 2 N 2. O 7, 8. P 1 S 17, 23, 25. W 16.
6 G 16, 23, 25.
7–15 G 4.
7 B 2, 4. R 5, 8.

MALACHI (*cont.*)

3 8, 9 P 4.
8 G 40.
10–12 B 11. G 31. L 6.
10 B 13. H 3.
11 B 13.
12 R 8.
13–15 I 32.
13 B 10.
14 B 10. G 33. H 15. M 36. S 4.
15 P 34. S 14.
16–18 R 17.
16 F 6. G 24.
17 G 24. S 3.
18 G 21. W 12, 15.
4 1 D 3. P 34. S 14, 25. W 11, 15.
2 F 6. H 1. M 19, 26. R 18. S 3.
3 W 11.
4 O 4.
5 D 3.
6 F 11.

JOEL

1 1 P 37.
2–12 S 25.
3 C 6.
13–15 M 31.
14 F 5. R 5. W 29.
15 D 3. W 29.
19 A 12.
2 1–14 D 3. S 25.
9 T 4.
10 D 1.
11 G 28. V 2.
12 F 5. R 5. S 9.
13 A 22. G 23, 25. S 9.
14–17 F 5. W 29.
14 C 22. R 8.
17 I 32, 41. J 7. M 31. P 29.
18–26 G 31. R 8.
18 G 20, 25, 30. J 1. P 16, 23.
19 P 23.
21 F 2.
21–26 B 13.
26–32 C 16. R 8.
26, 27 G 13.
28 B 5, 12. D 18. H 7. K 2. P 37. R 17.
29 B 5, 12. H 7. P 37. R 17.
30 M 29.
31 D 1, 3. M 29.
32 M 10. P 23. S 3.
3 1–8 S 25.
4 R 13.
5 I 9, 18.
7 R 13.
13–16 S 25.
14 D 3.
15 D 1.
16–21 R 11.
16 A 22. F 2. G 13, 28, 35. V 2.
17 G 13.
18 C 16.
19 P 16. V 1.
20 G 13.
21 G 13, 25.

JONAH

1 1 P 37.
2 M 31.
3–5 C 19.
3–4 G 29.
5 I 5, 15.
6 P 31.
9 G 5. H 2.
14 A 12. P 27.
16 C 24. V 3.
2 1–10 A 7, 12. B 3 F 3.
1 P 26.
2–4 D 13.
3 A 10.
8 A 25. I 24. L 5. M 6.
9 G 35. P 21. T 3. V 3.
3 1–10 B 3.
1–3 P 37.
4 S 25.
5–10 C 24. F 5.
8 R 5. V 1.
9 A 22. C 22. R 5.
10 C 22. R 6, 8.
4 1–9 M 36. P 33.
1 A 21.
2 A 22. G 25. P 26.
3–8 D 6, 13.
4 A 21.
6 G 31.
8 D 6.
9 A 21.
10, 11 G 25. M 6. P 1, 16.

DANIEL

1 1 S 25.
2 I 5. S 25.
8 A 2.
9 B 13.
12 A 2.
17 P 37. W 19.
18–20 I 40.
2 6 R 14.
9 L 5.
12 A 21.
16–23 D 18.
19 P 37.
20–23 G 39. W 19.
20 G 22, 28, 36. P 21.
21 B 13. G 36.
22 G 22. S 6.
23 P 21. T 3.
24, 25 P 1.
28–30 D 18.
28 G 10, 22, 39. S 6.
29 G 10.
31–35 I 4.
35 C 16. K 2.
37, 38 B 13.
44 B 12. C 16. K 2.
45 C 16. G 10.
47 G 36. S 6.
3 1–18 I 4.
6–23 I 44. P 13.
8–18 C 21.

DANIEL (*cont.*)

3 13 A 21.
15 I 32.
16 F 3.
17 F 3. G 28. Z 2.
18 Z 2.
19 A 21.
21 I 34.
25 A 20.
27 G 30.
28 A 20. G 30.
4 3 G 7, 36.
4–37 D 18. W 6.
8 G 15. P 37.
13 A 20.
17–34 J 10.
17 A 20. B 13. G 36.
22–27 A 9. G 25.
24–26 A 10.
25 G 36.
27 P 18. R 5. W 25.
28–33 A 11.
30 P 33, 34. S 11.
32–37 G 36.
34 A 9. G 7. T 3.
35 G 28.
37 G 21, 37. H 2. P 21. T 7.
5 1–31 I 23.
4–29 I 5. W 6.
4 I 5, 15.
6 C 24. D 13.
11 P 37.
14 P 37.
17 R 14.
18–21 I 33.
18 B 13. G 31, 36.
20–23 P 33, 34.
20 S 11.
22 I 28.
23 A 18. G 2, 6. H 2. I 5, 15, 22. S 11.
26–28 G 36.
6 4–17 C 21. I 40, 44. M 1. P 13.
7 F 8.
10 A 12. P 30. T 3.
16 F 3. I 34.
18 F 5.
20–22 G 31.
20 B 13.
22 A 20. B 13.
24 C 6.
26 G 36.
27 G 28.
7 1–28 D 18. P 37.
2–14 P 1.
9–27 K 2.
9 G 21. J 5.
10 A 20. G 21. J 5.
13–27 C 16.
13 K 3.
14 B 12. G 36. K 3.
16 P 37. T 7.
22 J 5.
25 B 10. I 32.
26 J 5.
27 B 12. O 3.
8 1–14 P 1, 37.
8 H 3.
10 H 3.
12 T 7.
13–16 A 20. P 37.
25 K 3.
26 W 22.
9 1–22 P 37
3–19 I 41. P 26.
3 F 5. P 27. S 9.
4 G 8.
5–15 I 28. P 25. R 6. S 20.
7 G 21.
9 P 2.
10 V 2.
11 A 25. O 1. V 2.
12 H 3. J 4.
13 A 11. G 37. P 31.
14 A 13. G 21. V 2.
16 A 22.
17–19 P 27.
18 G 24. W 26.
19 P 2.
21–23 A 20.
24–27 A 27.
24 A 24. M 18, 19.
25 C 13. K 3. M 19.
26 M 9.
27 M 18.
10 2 F 5.
3 A 24. F 5.
5–10 A 20. P 37.
7 M 10.
12 R 6.
16 A 20.
18 A 20.
21 T 7. W 22, 23.
11 4 H 3.
8 I 5.
20 A 22.
21 F 8.
28–32 C 28.
30 A 25.
31 P 36.
32 B 12. F 8. P 36. W 18.
33 I 38.
34 F 8.
35 A 1. P 44. T 2.
36, 37 B 10. I 32. S 11.
38 I 18.
12 1–13 C 16.
1–3 R 17.
1 G 30.
2 D 5. I 27. R 12. W 12.
3 I 27. K 2. M 33. R 12, 18. W 18. Z 1.
4 K 4. W 18, 22.
5–7 A 20.
7 H 3. O 1.
9 W 22.
10 A 1. B 14. G 33. P 44. T 2. W 18.
11 P 36.
13 D 7. R 12.

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THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK :—'I shall certainly use it in my reading of the Prophets, and shall be indeed grateful to have the succeeding volumes.'

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The Interpreter:—'Extremely attractive and of no small value.'

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Expository Times:—'The same scholarly care and sense of what is useful are carried throughout this second volume.'

EXCERPTS FROM PRESS NOTICES

VOLUME III

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Educational News :—'Ripe scholarship observable throughout. Cautious treatment of difficult and debatable points. Helpfulness of the comments towards a clear understanding of the text. It is a positive delight.'

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